The Moral Aims *of* THE WAR

WALTER LAIDLAW, *Editor*

Ball-room of the Hotel Biltmore, decorated for an evening dinner of the Jewelers' Association, and used for the luncheon of the Interchurch Clerical Conference, with its 500 guests.

The Moral Aims of the War

Comprising a series of addresses given at an all day Interchurch Clerical Conference in the City of New York, April 4th, 1918.

Issued under the direction of the Organizing Chairman

REV. WALTER LAIDLAW, Ph. D.
Executive Secretary The New York Federation of Churches

NEW YORK CHICAGO
Fleming H. Revell Company
LONDON EDINBURGH

II509
.L4

Copyright, 1918, by
FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY

JAN 17 1919

©CI.A512071

New York: 158 Fifth Avenue
Chicago: 17 North Wabash Ave.
London: 21 Paternoster Square
Edinburgh: 75 Princes Street

Price 50¢ net

PREFACE

Serbia's refusal to surrender her sovereignty, hough threatened by the Pan-German guns, was ıoral; consent would have been a breach of trust oward her people on the part of the Serbian overnment.

France's war was moral from the moment when taly declined to retain her membership in the Triple Alliance, on the ground that the Central Powers were entering upon "a war of aggression."

The immediacy of Italy's moral judgment, and er friendly urgency in acquainting France with er decision, thereby releasing troops from defend- ıg the southern French frontier, will laurel Italy or all time.

Belgium's resistance was moral, both in its elations to her own people, and to the co-signa- ories, Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia, who, Nov. 15, 1831, guaranteed her eutrality.

Great Britain's rush to the relief of Belgium vas as moral and chivalrous as Germany's invasion f Belgian soil was immoral and rapacious.

The war had moral elements and aims years efore America entered it.

On the very day when England entered it, ugust 4, 1914, the Chancellor of the German Empire, von Bethmann-Hollweg, made a con- ession of the criminality of Germany's conduct of vhich there can be no avoidance when reparations

are discussed: "This is contrary to internationa law."

Sir George Adam Smith, in Biblical phrase says (p. 41), that the path to moral decision wa instantly plain to Great Britain.

It was equally plain to millions in Americ from the moment when the German guns belche their murderous fire in the face of the peacefu Belgians. That diabolism dynamited internationa law. It proved there was a power in Europe a war with the evolutions of Christian civilizatio It explained the unwillingness of Germany an Austria, in 1907, at the Second Hague Conferenc to agree, like the other nations represented, to th principle and practice of arbitration of inte national disputes. Such an agreement on thei part would have cut athwart that "will to power which Germany was cultivating as its nationa religion.

As Bernhardi's Bible of brutality, "German and the Next War," and Cheradame's expose Pan-Germanism's programme, "The Pan-Germa Plot Unmasked," became familiar to America readers, they realized that the war was a crusad to save Christian civilization.

In this view of the War the directorate of th New York Federation of Churches were a un from the first, and the writer, as its Executiv Secretary, was encouraged to engage in ant pacifist activities.

He has arranged or addressed over 200 meetin since September, 1914, at which the League Nations idea has been advocated.

Many of these meetings were held before the League to Enforce Peace was organized at Philadelphia, in 1915.

In September of that year the Federation was committed to formal approval of it, and early in 1916 the sentiment of the clergy of New York, as to the need of America's increase of her armament, to discharge her duties as a member of it, was convincingly ascertained.

The vote was 190 to 25 in favor of preparedness.

In February of 1917, two months before President Wilson addressed Congress, 380 clergy approved the cashiering of the German ambassador; the attitude of the President on U-boat warfare, and universal service, as against professional armies, as the most democratic form of defense; and the President was promised co-operation in whatever else he might do for the defense of America and of civilization.

When the Nation actually entered into War, and the first of the Liberty Loans was under way, the writer was asked to prepare a sermonic suggestion pamphlet for the clergy of the whole country, and the same service was requested and performed in connection with the flotation of the Second Liberty Loan.

The meeting of April 4, 1918, at which the addresses contained in this volume were delivered, formally opened the meetings in the interest of the Third Liberty Loan, as the Interchurch Clerical Conference meeting of September 23, 1918, formally opened the Fourth.

The National Committee on the Churches and the Moral Aims of the War is a joint committee

representing the Church Peace Union and th
League to Enforce Peace, and the meeting o
April 4, 1918, was promoted by it and by th
Publicity Committee of the Liberty Loan organ
zation of the Second Federal Reserve district, bu
arranged as to all its details by the writer.

Three hundred clergy who had signed in Febru
ary, 1917, the manifesto of the New York Federa
tion of Churches, which had been sent to Presider
Wilson, and gratefully acknowledged on his behal
were the Vice-Chairmen of the meeting.

It was opened by a presentation of the pligh
and rights of the peoples ravaged by Germany
aggressions, Serbia, Luxemburg, Poland, Armenia

The speakers of this section were readily secure
in New York—authoritative, and most of ther
eye-witnesses of Germany's barbarisms.

Then followed the great address of Sir Georg
Adam Smith, the guest in America of the Nationa
Committee on the Churches and the Moral Aim
of the War, on "Great Britain's Part in the War,
with the statement, pathetic in its relations t
Peters warming themselves by the fire, that Grea
Britain rejoiced almost as much at the confirma
tion of her judgment on the morality of the war a
at the accession to her side of America's materia
resources. The preachers of Christian supra
nationalism before our country entered the Wa
and declaiming that preparedness to discharge, b
force, duties incumbent upon us as members o
the family of nations, would "deamericanize ou
beloved America and dechristianize our Christi
anity" were blind leaders—until April 6, 1917
(some of them are yet), somewhat Pharisaic

moreover, in setting up their non-resistance millennialism, as superior, in its loyalty to Christ, to the covenanted consecration, even unto death, of those Scotch, English, Irish and Canadians who saved France, England—yes, and America—in September, 1914.

What but an admission of their idle speaking is to-day due from preachers identifying soldiery and antichrist in 1914–1917 when they to-day find such religious men as Pershing, Haig, Foch at the head of the Allied armies?

Some of these preachers, if not pro-German, were at least anti-British in the early days of the War. If Sir George's words are now taken by them at full value, they must confess that the Spirit who takes of the things of Christ, convincing of sin and righteousness and judgment, was tardily admitted to their souls. If they do not take Sir George's word at full value, what place can they have in the reconstruction of world-order after the War.? Should they be welcomed beside men who have suffered in mind, body, estate and family as have the four-year fighters, for righteousness' sake, of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy? Can men who endeavored to dissuade their own country from arming itself to do its duty as a member of a League of Nations, proposed after the War broke out, unless openly repentant, be trusted in the day when we shall all be thanking God that American arms assisted to drive back the militarism which British and French bravery had held in check?

In that day the project of a League of Nations must have large and leading place.

Its parallel was proposed in the closing years of

the Sixteenth Century to curb "the extortion of the Hapsburgs." It can include Germany and Austria now only if the power of Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns is broken.

Mr. Marburg's address (pp. 78–86), gives a wonderfully inclusive account of its present condition. His statement of the proper remedy for the anarchy of Russia and the treachery of Lenine, viz., a Japanese army, is not of course an essential of the League's programme.

Five hundred clergy heard the after luncheon addresses of Sir George, Mr. Marburg and Mr. Morgenthau.

In the evening, at the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, Sir George spoke again, as a representative of Great Britain, and Dean Brown, of Yale, and Dr. Talcott Williams, of Columbia's School of Journalism, represented America, while Dr. John Henry Jowett, about to release his pastorate, was a representative of both.

If Calvinism had suffered any from the pacifism of some of its preachers and recent seminary graduates, it gained absolution that night from the unqualified Christian militantism of Dr. Jowett.

"There can be no nesting agreement between the dove of peace and the present German eagle" is not a mere epigram: it is a thunderbolt of moral judgment, and a flaming prophecy.

Dr. Boynton's scintillating chairmanship of the luncheon in the Hotel Biltmore gave it the atmosphere in which Roman Catholic, Greek, Protestant and Jewish clergy all felt at home.

WALTER LAIDLAW,

October 7, 1918. Organizing Chairman.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Address by Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, D.D.	11
Address by Rev. John Henry Jowett, D.D.	13
The Plight and the Rights of Serbia. By Prof. Michael I. Pupin	18
The Plight and the Rights of Poland. By Countess Laura de G. Turczynowicz	24
The Plight and the Rights of Armenia. By Hon. Henry Morgenthau, LL.D	34
Great Britain's Part in the War. By Sir George Adam Smith	41
The Battle for True Peace. By Sir George Adam Smith	52
America's Part in the War. By Dean Charles R. Brown, D.D., LL.D	62
Address by Talcott Williams, LL.D	74
The League of Nations. By Hon. Theodore Marburg, LL.D	78
The Churches and the Liberty Loan. By Mr. Guy Emerson	87
Address by Mr. Brooks Leavitt	93

The Moral Aims of the War

Addresses of the Presiding Officers

I

ADDRESS BY THE REV. NEHEMIAH BOYNTON, D. D.

President of The New York Federation of Churches

THE ministers of this great center are overwhelmingly, absolutely and persistently committed to loyalty to our Government, and to the faith that the principles of righteousness and of justice which are being challenged to-day are to be reasserted and re-enthroned, at whatever cost, and at whatever sacrifice. It is of the very first importance that this simple proposition should not even by a vagrant suspicion be invalidated in the judgment, or in the knowledge of any part of the world, not even if we have to take aeroplanes and send the message behind the lines of the adversary. Our ministers are with the people in this great fight; and like the redeemed of the Lord in other relationships of life, they are neither afraid nor ashamed to "say so."

We are supposed to be a company of men who, by the importance of the various positions which we occupy, are familiar with the proportion of things, and that is fine; but woe to us if because of our position we are so familiar with or interested in the proportion of things that we lose the sense of the emphasis of things; for just at present it is the business of the ministers of our country, not

only to sense the wider relationships of the implications of this tremendous struggle, but also by the one clear note of their personal affirmation and declaration to leave no question in the minds of any who wait upon their ministry as to the quality of their devotion on the one hand,—the insistence of their soul, upon the other, that everything they have and are and hope to be, is to be placed at the disposal of this great issue, which can only be rightly adjudicated when the things for which we stand united, ethical and spiritual, shall once more be confessed in their world-wide swing, and in their universal dominance and power.

That is the significance of this day which calls us together to meditate concerning the moral relationships of the war and to be instructed and inspired by men who in the various departments of life are capable of giving us words which shall afford courage equal to our day. A victory is always empty except it is filled to overflowing with an ethical content. The thing which we long for and which we expect, God granting it, in the not too distant future, is not simply a victory which shall represent raw strength and power of human might, but a victory which shall also represent the elevation of ethical sentiment, and the wide inclusions in our world of religious principles. That is why to-day our attention, grounded in loyalty to our country and our cause with our Allies, is being turned to ethical considerations in order that our spirits may be again afire and aflame with the loyalty which is as broad as the need of man, and with a devotion which reaches to the very depths of our souls.

II

ADDRESS BY THE REV. JOHN HENRY JOWETT, D.D.

Pastor Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church

THIS meeting is called for the serious consideration of the moral aims of this gigantic war. It is a meeting in the interest of peace, but a righteous peace, a rational peace, and therefore a healthy and enduring peace. We are not here tonight to profess our belief that peace is the first of human interests. There is an interest which has priority over peace, which, indeed, is the parent of all real peace, its originating impulse and strength. Righteousness is the great gathering ground on which the river of peace takes its rise- "Oh, that thou hadst harkened to my command. ment! Then had thy peace been like a river." And the river of peace is always that kind of affluence; it is just the inevitable issue of high and just relationships. Therefore we are not gathered here tonight to seek to invert the Divine order and give peace a place which it does not possess, unless it has usurped the throne of another. We are lovers of peace, every man in the pulpit tonight, and every man in the audience tonight who sympathizes with this gathering. We are all lovers of peace, but we do not mean by peace something synonymous with spiritual benumbment, and ignoble quietness, and moral indifference. We value righteousness, in a sense, as of higher worth than

quietness, and we esteem our honor as more precious than our peace. And therefore I think we ought to say at the outset of the meeting that we are not here to urge upon President Wilson and upon the American Government any premature and unclean compromise.

I think our first premise in all our reasoning about national or international righteousness is this, that there can be no kind of healthy peace where wrong is enthroned and rampant. You cannot make union between the clean and the unclean. You cannot have concord between Christ and Belial. There can be no kind of, shall I say, nesting agreement, between the dove of peace and the present German eagle. Any pretended reconciliation about which we may speak here tonight, any pretended reconciliation in which the flagrant iniquity is allowed to enter into the agreement at all, would in reality be no agreement: it would only be the fertile breeding ground of still further inflammatory strife and war; and I think of any such premature and of any such unrighteous agreement, the old prophetic indictment might still be written, "Your covenant with death shall be disannulled and your agreement with hell shall not stand." Therefore, because of several letters which I have received during the last few days, I think it needful as Chairman of the meeting to say these words lest the purpose of the meeting should be misinterpreted. There is no one who is to speak here tonight, and there is no one who is going to speak in the series of meetings which are to be held throughout the country, who does not believe that the first thing we have got to do is to win the

ır. The first thing we have got to do is to win the
ır by vanquishing a militant, intolerant and
tolerable autocracy. We are further agreed
out this, I think I may say, all my colleagues
no will speak to the meeting tonight, that if we
e to win the war we must raise and marshal all
e moral and spiritual forces of the Church and of
e country in support of President Wilson. He
w stands, not only in the eyes of his own people,
ıt in the eyes of the world, as the great and dis-
nguished representative of our sacred cause.

We cannot fight and beat autocracy by merely
ıtocratic means. Satan cannot cast out Satan.
Ve cannot oust a brutal materialism by merely
aterialistic equipment, and if our victory, of
hich I am as sure as I am sure of my Lord, if
ır victory is to be clean and radical, thorough
nd complete, we shall have to range behind our
ıaterial forces, energies of a far more tremendous
rder. We must mobilize the forces that are
orn of spiritual vision, the forces that spring
om moral convictions, the forces of lofty purpose
nd divine communion; we must have concern
or the ethereal things about which we are here
onight, the ethereal things that lie behind and
eyond the material things, those mystic horsemen
nd chariots that in the olden days were seen by
he eyes of faith to throng the mountains of ancient
srael, and it is in order that our minds and hearts
night be lifted to these eternal things, which, after
ll, are the true governors of the transient things:
hese eternal things are the abiding things of the
Kingdom, and the primary things of the Christian
Church—it is that we might have our minds

lifted to these things that we are met here tonigl and that these meetings are to be held throughou the States.

One other thing I would like to say. Our ey are to be lifted, and I am glad to have the reli of the larger vision, because after all my friend the best way—how shall I put it—the best moc in which to fight a single battle is to keep yo mind on the whole campaign. It is the lor view just now that gets you through the inc It is looking unto the end that will get us throug the immediate conflict; and I am glad that pa of our purpose tonight is to have our minds lifte to the contemplation of things that lie behin even the ultimate end of the war. For whe these moral and spiritual forces of which I ha been speaking have driven out, as they will, th evil spirit of this militant autocracy, then the very same powers will have to go forward, an reconstitute that emancipated world by reconstruc ting the relationships, the common relationship both of men and of nations, lest a worse spir enter in and the last state of mankind be wor than the first.

And so this meeting tonight, and all the meetings, are intended to prepare and disciplin our vision for a nobler world order, and to en courage us to anticipate a larger and more fraternal relationship between race and race, and betwee nation and nation, and between man and ma What I mean to say is just this: That the mor and spiritual forces which win the war are the to effect the moral transformation of mankind That may seem a long way off, and that may seem

very far away. The immediate hour—and we are all buying every edition of the papers as they come out in order that we may see what is happening in the momentous season—the immediate hour is very ominous, it is full of trouble and full of menace, and full of fear. But let my closing word be this, if there is one thing on the pages of history where the record is more clear than another, it is this, in all great movements of emancipating crusades, the most appalling hour of frightfulness has been the very hour of final redemption.

I don't know how far my brother ministers in the church, in the congregation, may have—they must have, of course, it is upon the surface of things—noticed the significance of that tremendous word in the record where it says, "And it came to pass that the evil spirit tore and rent him sore, and came out of him." The moment of frightfulness was the moment of emancipation. The moment of real rending and tearing, the last fight for possession, was the very moment of a dawning freedom. And, my Christian friends and comrades in this one cause, the present moment is the time of the rending and the tearing and the evil spirit is fighting fiercely for possession. Tomorrow it will be out, and the world will rejoice in a newly discovered and glorious emancipation.

I

THE PLIGHT AND THE RIGHTS OF SERBIA

PROF. MICHAEL I. PUPIN

Serbian Consul; Professor in Columbia University

AS an introduction to my subject, it is well to state briefly who are the Serbians. The Serbians are Serbs. I am a Serb, but I am not a Serbian today, because I am an American citizen. Serb is a race, and Serbian is a political name. The Serbian means a Serb who lives in the Kingdom of Serbia. A Serb is of the same race as the people in Serbia, but he may live anywhere; and as a matter of fact, half of the Serb race are living in Austria-Hungary, and the other half in Serbia.

There are about 50,000 Serbs in this country. There are from Austria 99 per cent., and 1 per cent. from Serbia. Now, how do you explain it, that, of every 100 Serbs who come to the United States, 99 are from Austria and 1 from Serbia? The answer is that the economic condition of the poor man of the Serbs in Serbia is 99 times as good as that of the Serbs in Austria. That may be, perhaps, a more or less rough calculation and comparison, but roughly speaking it is true. The Serb in Austria is 99 times worse off economically and otherwise than the Serb in Serbia. And that is the reason why they emigrate. They work in our coal mines, in our copper mines, and on our

ailroad tracks; they work in the Steel Trust's lants, and they work in the timber lands of the Northwest. They are all hard working men.

Now, so much for the Serbs, and for the Serbs n Serbia. You know where they live today. They lived there for a thousand years nearly. n the fourteenth century the Serbian Czardom vas overrun by the Turks, and the Serbia of the erbs disappeared as a State. They became Serbia f the Turks. Then, owing to different wars and olitical readjustments, some came under Austria; he others remained under Turkey. Those who vere under Austria had to fight for Austria. Most f them formed a military frontier of Austria. was born there. I came from the military frontier f Austria. My ancestors came to Austria in 690 from Old Serbia on the condition that they ettle along the Southern frontier and defend it gainst the Turks, which we did, in exchange for rivileges, spiritual and political, which Austria ever gave us; she only promised.

Now, the Serbs were overrun by the Turks. When the Turkish wave reached Vienna and came ack again, they had to help the Austrians drive he Turks back across the Danube. They did it.

Then in 1804 they started a revolution for the urpose of getting economic and political freedom rom the Turks. After 25 years of struggle they ot it.

What I want you to observe is this: the Serb or 500 years had to fight continually for the little reedom that he had during those 500 years. His reatest misfortune is the fact that he lives in the and of Europe which is around the cross; the cross

formed by the Danube and Morava, running north and south, and again the Danube and the river Save, running east and west. That is the cross. That is where the Serbs lived for a thousand years. That is the cross they had to bear on their backs, because anybody who lived there had to bear the brunt of battle between the East and West. Five hundred years ago it was the Turk who invaded the West, and he crossed into Serbia; today it is the Teuton who wishes to invade the East and go to Bagdad, and his road leads over Serbia. For five hundred years it was the Turk who was the archenemy of the Serb; today it is the Teuton.

I know a great deal about the Germans because I lived in Germany as a student for three years. But I also know the Austrians, and I know the Bulgarians, and I know the Hungarians, and I know the Turks. I know them even better than I know the Germans. And I tell you, that bad as the Germans are, the Hungarian and the Bulgarian and the Austrian is still worse. And these are the people that we Serbs had to live with. We had to stand them for five hundred years.

Nevertheless we preserved our national identity. We preserved our language; we preserved our literature. The Serb literature is one of the finest—I mean the popular literature—one of the finest in the world. Nothing, according to Goethe himself, and according to other competent judges, can compare with the Serbian heroic ballads, excepting Homer's Iliad. And we composed those things during the darkest days of our history.

Today the Bulgarians are trying to destroy that history—foolish people that they are—by collecting, packing up all books in Serbia, and burning them. Here is an announcement that appeared in a Bulgarian paper, according to the testimony of Doctor Alexis Francois, Professor of History at the University of Geneva—this appeared April 26, 1916, in a Bulgarian paper in Sofia: "The Ministry of Commerce has just published a decree that all books found in the new provinces will, instead of being simply destroyed, be handed over to the Bulgarian National Printing Office in Sofia. They will then be used as raw material for the manufacture of paper, and paid for at the rate of" 3 cents—"a kilogram." That surely is not dear for the admirable literature of the Serbs.

The Bulgarian never fought for his freedom, never. When I say never, I mean it. The Serbs fought all the time. The Bulgarians were reduced to the condition of cattle; they were servants of the Turks. We Serbs were never servants of the Turks. We were subject to them, yes. We suffered from their persecutions, yes. But we always remained proud, self-respecting, which the Bulgarians did not. And if it hadn't been for Russia in 1877 the Bulgarians would never have become free. And yet today they are the masters of Serbia, they and the Hungarians. One occupies the eastern part, and the other occupies the western part of Serbia.

Now, the rights of the Serbs in Serbia are those defined by the history of a people like that. They fought for their freedom. They got it by the sacrifice of life and everything that is sacred and

dear. Their plight today is that they have lost everything. The churches have no more books they have no flags in their churches, the flags they love so much, because they are a people who are very fond of ceremony and ceremonials. Their priests have been deported, and their schoolmasters have been deported. Everybody who can work has been taken away into Bulgaria and Asia Minor and Austria, and even Germany, and nobody is at home excepting women and children, middle-aged women. Serbia has nothing today. She has lost everything excepting her honor and spirit. The spirit of Serbia still lives, but people like that, who have suffered for five hundred years cannot be destroyed, because you cannot destroy the spirit; the body you can, but the spirit never.

The head of the Serbian War Mission which was here some time ago was invited to a dinner at the Harvard Club, given in honor of Mr. Gerard, our former Ambassador to Berlin; or rather, he was invited to come if he could and be present at the dinner, and he dropped in, because he had other engagements. They asked him to make a few remarks, which he did; and after describing the plight of Serbia, which is certainly fearfully black, he said, "My friends, the Serbs don't think of peace. The Serbs are certain that this war will be won, because it is the spirit and not the brawn that will win the war."

I am very glad to say that night before last I heard Mr. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, say in a speech, that this is a war of the spirit. It isn't a war for territory; it isn't a war for political advantages; this is a war of the spirit. It is the

spirit of one-half of the world, or three-quarters of the world, which has rebelled against Teutonism and militarism; and this is no war—this, my friends, is a revolution of the spirit.

COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

Serbia lay across the route to Pan-Germanism's realization of its Mittel-Europea ambition. The Berlin-Bagdad railway ran through its Nish. It was therefore the first territory to feel the thrust of the Pan-German steel (p. 18).

Bulgaria s unconditional surrender is a bulwark against the helpfulness to Hohenzollernism of the Hamburg-Persian Gulf railway service. Even the walking is not to-day good for the German troops in that locality.

Prof. Pupin's address is replete with evidence that the readjustments of boundaries that will make for justice to the Serbs must go north of Belgrade, and cannot be controlled from Bulgarian Sofia.

INDEX

Half the Serbs live in Austria-Hungary (p. 18). Serb emigration to America is almost entirely from the Serbs of Austria-Hungary (p. 18). The wrongs to Serbs, impelling this emigration, are of long standing (p. 19). The Bulgarians have been guilty of unnecessary embitterments of Serbian pride (p. 19). Destruction and deportation (p. 22).

II

THE PLIGHT AND THE RIGHTS OF POLAND

COUNTESS LAURA DE G. TURCZYNOWICZ

I SUPPOSE you all know a little bit about me, and I suppose many of you have read my book. I will only tell you that I was an American girl who went abroad to study music, and instead of singing and studying, as I proposed doing, I fell in love and married—quite a natural thing—and I have never been sorry, even in spite of the war. I married into one of those old Polish families, an old noble family that has meant much in history all the years through, and I fell into a different sort of life altogether. If the people I married into had been happy I don't suppose I should have been transformed so quickly; you know I am an American by birth, but I think I am Polish by heart now, just because they are so very very unhappy. It seems that the Polish people can never reach a conclusion of their difficulties and go ahead. But we believe that the war is going to bring that about, that that is one of the issues of the war. It doesn't matter what happens, somehow or other the miracle will be performed, and Poland will be free.

I should feel very happy to go away from here feeling that by coming to speak to you I had made friends of you all for Poland—real friends; Poland needs it so very very much.

When the war came to us in Poland, our life was very quiet, very happy—five miles from the boundary, just five miles from East Prussia. Then the war came like a clap of thunder. Our house was the first one to be turned into a hospital on the East front, and we organized a Polish Red Cross. This is its uniform, and it means so much to me. I lived seven months of captivity—of German captivity—in this uniform. Strangely enough, those first months, I didn't realize what the war meant until I had to leave my home on about fifteen minutes' notice, just walk out and leave everything. What would you think if you had to leave your home and walk out for the enemy to come in and occupy it? That night I spent in a cattle car with my three little children. My little daughter was only six years old, my twin boys were five. There were a lot of the townspeople, and thirty-two wounded soldiers, all packed in a cattle car. During the night a man died. In the morning I had to tell my children to please be quiet, that the Cossack was asleep—just a blond boy, perhaps eighteen years old. He made such an impression on me. With various experiences we went on through Wilna, to and beyond Warsaw, because it was bombarded by the Germans too. A few weeks went by, and then suddenly we heard that the Prussians had been driven out and that our house was free. My husband went to see what was there. When he came back he brought us some clothes, but he wouldn't tell me what our home looked like; he told me I had to see it myself.

At that time he was made chief engineer of Galicia. I couldn't go with him, because small

children are not allowed in occupied territory And I made my pilgrimage to our old home alone I only want to tell you that the first feeling I wa conscious of when we stepped over the threshol was an intense desire to get my head out of th window. The least that had happened to ou dear old home was the fact that they brough the horses in. But I want to tell you also, an I believe I can give expert testimony, that per sonally I infinitely prefer a good, clean, hones horse, to a German officer in my house. If th impossible thing is happening here today, an among you somewhere, in some way or other, shoul be concealed a pacifist, I wish he could hav walked through my home. If he had seen th odious, degenerate filth there, if he could hav looked at our library knee-deep in filth; book torn, papers, tapestries cut to pieces, old manu scripts destroyed. We had quite a museun there. There were things that we intende giving to the Polish Museum which was then t be opened in the old Royal Palace, all wantonl destroyed.

My old butler came and told me to go to th pantries, that it was much worse there. I didn' think it was possible. I walked through ou dining room, where every bit of furniture wa destroyed—the only thing left a clock on the wall I suppose some German officer had fancied tha clock, and he was going to take it with him, an then he had to leave in a hurry. So we have ou clock. When I went to the pantries I saw tha what my old butler, Jacob, had told me, wa right. In Poland the housewives are very prou

of their great collections of sweets. The Polish people eat sweets when they drink tea. There were hundreds of jars of all sorts of jams and preserves, comfiture and honey. Do you know those Germans had eaten the sweets and had filled the jars with filth unspeakable—and put them back on the shelves.

Similar was the case in all the churches. They were odious beyond description. And every place where those Polish people had one of their little altars, or their pictures, with the lights burning before them—a thing that means so much to them—that was the place the Huns selected to desecrate.

At that time I got my first piece of civilian work to do. Our old priest came to me and asked me to go out into the field and pick up the children. I didn't understand what he meant at first. Then he told me that when the Prussians went off they took all the able-bodied men and women and the older children, but they left the little children without their mothers, without a roof to cover them or a bite to eat. I went out with the Red Cross automobile, which we had soon to leave, into that freshly made battlefield that surrounded our town. The dead were yet unburied. The little homes and huts were burned down, and there we found little children who had been left behind. I shall never forget the looks of the little child I picked up first, a little girl perhaps four years old, who was carrying her baby sister. If you could have seen their little clay-colored faces, smeared with earth, where they had eaten earth in their extremity of hunger; if you could have seen their little swollen abdomens, literally starving

to death, the same thing would have happened to you that did to me. I have never felt the same towards life since. I went back and found my own children well and happy. It seemed a strange arrangement that they should be so happy and those children so miserable.

Time went on, and I lived on one way or another until the first of February, 1915, when we were told by the Russian Government to go back to our home and open a hospital, that the Government was in residence, that we were perfectly safe; that even the schools were open. We went there, and arrived in our town the fourth of February, 1915, and for four days I think I should have been happy—I had my husband and children together, and we were under our own roof, though the home had been so desecrated—I should have been happy if my boy had not fallen ill; but one of my little five year old twins got the typhus, and we were so afraid that it would develop into the worst sort. And then after four days came the news that we had to evacuate again, that the Germans were coming, that they were hard upon us. I had to face the decision whether I should take my boy out into the winter's storm, or let him die in his bed in peace, if he had to die. So I made the decision that any mother would. I stopped, and persuaded my husband to go. The last I ever saw of him was that night of the ninth of February, when he walked off over the frozen snow, and I have only the sound of his footsteps to remember. That is one of the things that happened so often in the war, I want you to understand that. If you think I have suffered, those

people about me suffered infinitely more. I was always protected in some way. When I was left alone there was something else to do besides thinking of myself. I had to get food, I had to take care of my other little boy, the other little fellow was falling ill, and then our home was occupied by the Germans, and one of my own servants turned out to be one of their accredited German spies. She met them at our door with bundles of papers in her hands, an old woman who was just employed in carrying out the soiled water. We paid no more attention to her possible spy-work than if she had been a fly in the room.

The second day of the Germans' presence there, the great Battle of Augustowo began, when the Prussians surrounded 40,000 Russians in the woods—those same men who had invaded East Prussia—and they drove them into our town to make an example of them, to teach the world what would happen to anyone who dared lay a finger upon Prussia. We saw those men driven and clubbed along the streets. If one fell down he was beaten or clubbed with a gun, until he lay still for always, or managed to get up and stumble on. Starving men! We saw the guns brought in with the prisoners hitched to them, the horses driven alongside, and then we saw them shut in the churches.

I will only tell you about the church that was within my own direct range of vision. I saw enough never to tell a thing by hearsay. I saw how they beat and clubbed men into that church until you would think the walls would crack with the weight of humanity. Then they shut the doors and put a guard around it, and without a drop of

water or a crumb of bread, those men were there from that Thursday afternoon until the second Wednesday. You can imagine what was there when the doors were opened, how the dead were brought out like cordwood sticks, loaded on wagons and taken beyond the town and buried.

Another set of prisoners were put to work cleaning out the shambles, and Sunday morning the Kulturtrager praised God where those men had suffered their martyrdom!

While those men were dying by inches I had their great general under my roof. For some reason or other, people are always interested in him. I can only tell you that you know rather well what he looks like, you have all seen his pictures, and he looks just like his pictures, only more so, because there you cannot get his color. He looks very apopletic. I think it is because he drinks so much. They all do that, however. He has small light blue eyes, and stiff, upstanding grey hair. He is a tall man, about six feet two, and the cruellest creature that ever drew breath. While he was under my roof I asked him to get back two Polish girls, but he refused me—girls that the soldiers had taken. He said they belonged to the soldiers. He ordered me to make his coffee. He wouldn't have it made in the kitchen. I suppose he had reason to fear what someone might do to him. I had to make it at the table from a samovar, brew it with him looking at me. I suppose that some of you wish to ask the same question I am often asked, why I didn't poison him. You know there is just one good answer to that, that I mean from my soul.

I am not a German.

That man stopped under my roof five days e first time. Then I got another lot of officers. nong them was one kind enough to send me a ctor who said that my child had typhus and e military couldn't be stationed there. Then lived through having another German doctor no, when he was asked to operate upon my y's finger, instead of operating like a man, ough he had ether there to his hand, snipped at little finger off at the first joint, as if it had en a bit of old cloth. I have lived through at, so when people ask me if I have ever seen ildren with their hands cut off I say no, I never ve. It is true I never have, but I lived through ving a doctor take my boy's finger off without cessity, and I have seen infinitely worse. I ve seen my own little maid, a child not seventeen ars old, taken from my own house by that same ctor. I have seen her father's face bleeding, d with his teeth knocked out because he tried protect her, and I saw that girl after four days hen I finally found her. I cannot tell you anying about it. Anything on earth you would agine couldn't reach the truth. I wished to take r back to take care of her. They would not let e. They said she belonged to the soldiers. never saw her again. I never saw her father gain. He was sent to dig in the trenches because e criticized the military.

We lived through that, day in and day out, and et there is such a wonderful quality in human ature that we did get through. Human beings

are wonderful when you have seen them really suffer.

I helped with the prisoners. The Germans didn't allow the ill prisoners to go to the hospitals and they delegated me to take care of them. Every morning I used to have a melancholy procession of men come to me. The thing that ailed them mostly was hunger. They were on the hunger roll, those awful boils, those hideous green things that come from hunger in one of its stages. Then after that they begin to grow blind, and you know death is near, and you are glad.

Miraculously enough, I did get away from it all. I came out through the country of the Kultur-trager, and reached Holland, and in Holland for for the first time in seven months I was able to shut my door, lock it, and know no one dared come in. Can you imagine what it means to a woman to never have the surety that she can be alone? There was one six weeks I wasn't undressed. I was afraid to. I shall never forget when my little children saw that first breakfast table in Holland. They almost went mad with delight. My little girl, when she saw that bread and butter and honey, said, "Mommie, may we eat it all or is it for tomorrow?" It was such a happiness to say, "Darling, you may eat just as much as you want to, there is more for tomorrow." And so I got my children here finally and we heard our best beloved was over there. You want to know where he is now? I don't know myself. But I have faith. That is one of the things that I have learned through the war, and there is such a wonderful spiritual experience that does come to

s if we have any faith. I mean when you are a risoner. I remember when those people came ıto our town I felt as if I had nothing, nothing ıywhere. It doesn't matter who you are, not if ɔu had a pile of gold that reached to the sky, ɔthing matters, nothing unless you can turn to od. If you cannot you will lose your mind. ow many people there hanged themselves! Oh, ıat story of Poland, its misery, its suffering! want you all to help in every way you can. ou hear different things. It doesn't matter. et us all do what we can to help that country—the ıffering one! If you hear of dissensions arising mong them, realize that it has been the policy f three governments to make each Pole hate ıe other. That explains much to you; but among ıem are golden-hearted people, and they deserve eedom—a free Poland, and the right to worship od in their way, and the right to the pursuit f happiness.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR

Russian Poland, which had a constitution of its own from 1815 to 1830, ıd a separate government until 1864, was deprived at the latter date of s administrative independence. By ukase of the Czar, dated Feb. 23, 68, the government of Russian Poland was absolutely incorporated th that of Russia, and the use of the Polish language in public places ıd for public purposes (railways, signboards, wills, etc.) was prohibited. tatesman's Year Book, 1915, p. 1271.)

Prussia's partitions of Poland date from the time of Frederick "the reat," 1740-1786. There were 4,967,984 Poles in Austria in 1910 and 722,967 Serbs.

The defection of Russia from the ranks of the effective Allies opens a ovidential opportunity for the reconstitution of a Poland freed alike om Prussian, Austrian, and Russian domination.

III

THE PLIGHT AND THE RIGHTS OF ARMENIA

HON. HENRY MORGENTHEAU, LL.D.
Ex-Ambassador to Turkey

I FEEL rather strange to be addressing men who occupy the pulpits, and who do not need my urging to loyalty, but I feel as I felt when I used to preach to the girls at Constantinople College. I always selected a text that would not offend either Christians, Mohammedans, or Jews, and it was sometimes necessary for me to go back to geometry, telling them that the shortest distance between two given points was a straight line, and delivering a lecture on that.

But I am asked to speak here on "The Plight and Rights of Armenia." I will take for my text a little story—a true story—of a young Armenian woman. When the Turks attacked one of the houses in Caesarea, they murdered the father and mother of this girl in her presence, and the murderer took the girl by her hand and said to her, "You come with me and you can live. You can live with me." The girl violently tore herself away. He followed her up to the second story and then on to the roof. There a struggle took place and he pierced her through her lungs with his sword. The girl was left for dead. One of your missionaries, a medical missionary, came there late in the afternoon

und her, saw she was still alive, took her to his
spital, brought her back to life, and when the
ild awoke and realized where she was, the first
ing she said was "I did not deny my Lord, did I"?
y friends, that is Armenia.

Armenia has been dragged about and stabbed.
need not tell you the history of Armenia, I don't
ant to weary you with all the details of these
arful atrocities. I do not wish to harrow your
earts. But Armenia is the oldest Christian
ation in existence. Armenia has lived there under
e shadows of Mount Ararat; it has struggled on
r generations and generations against its sur-
undings. It has battled successfully, and some-
mes unsuccessfully, against all the older nations,
t has survived. It survived because it was like
domestic fruit; it was so wonderful in its powers;
s seed was so strong it could not be destroyed.
he Turks when they came there treated them
ost of the time most shabbily. They exploited
em and they used them, but one has to look at
is thing as though it were in your presence. The
urks never could make up their minds to anni-
late the Armenians. The Armenians could not
tempt a revolution, because they had no arms.
hey lived on year after year and decade after
cade, always hoping that some Christian nation
ould come to their rescue. When about one hun-
ed years ago the American missionaries came out
ere they looked upon them as at last the people
at were going to help them. They lived on
nstantly hoping and hoping, never going back
their religion. They were the most intelligent
t of people in Turkey. Then finally when this

war broke out in 1914, the Armenians refused the bait offered to them by the Turks. They refused to accept the proposition that they should induce their fellow Armenians of Russia to join them and rebel against Russia, help the Turks, and for so doing be given an autonomous country. They could not and did not trust the Turks.

Then when in 1914 the war broke out and some of the Armenians were in the Russian army, they helped to defeat Enver in the Caucasus, and from that time on they had the hatred—more bitter hatred then ever before—of the Turks.

The Turkish Government at present is in the hands of a few men who absolutely usurped it. They have set aside the poor Sultan, who was a simple minded old man, who for thirty years was practically in prison, while Abdul Hamid ruled. He has no gumption, no character, no determination. These men have taken control. They have nothing at stake. They haven't a crown or a throne to defend. They have taken possession of the Turkish Government and they have made up their minds that the only other people that could put them out of their present position were the Armenians, because some of the Armenians helped them in their revolution—were their intimate friends. They then, in a quiet council, where a few of them were present, determined, in April, 1915, to absolutely eliminate the Armenians.

Now, my friends, they would not have dared to do so if they had not previously done it on a smaller scale with the Greeks, and nobody blamed them for it; nobody punished them for it. They wouldn't have dared to do so if they had not repeated

done it at ten or twelve different periods. From 1822 to 1915 there were seventeen massacres, totalling 1,233,000. The Christian nations forgot their poor brothers, the Armenians; they condoned these offenses. The Turks felt that Christian nations were at war with them. They felt that the others that were not at war were their allies and were under great obligations to them. The Turks feel that they have rendered much greater service to the Germans than the Germans have to them; they felt that they were justified in doing at last what they pleased. The Stipulations have been abrogated. We have no Powers. The only one that could protest and could interfere from a humanitarian point of view was the American Ambassador. The others would not interfere. Here these men felt at last free to do what they liked, and instead of their using properly the liberty they had, it was transferred into license, and the blood lust was aroused in them. It is just as men become addicted to drink, or to any other vile habit, these men once tasting blood were determined to annihilate the Armenian race.

Now, my friends, the rights of Armenia are the rights of every suppressed nation, every one of our brethren whether he be Christian, Jew, Mohammedan, or anything else. They have a right to live; they have a right to feel that they can retain whatever they earn; they have a right to their traditions; they have a right to their soul development. And we here in this country must wake up. I was awfully pleased—I always am pleased—to listen to Doctor Boynton, but I think the way he has tried to stir us up is the right idea. We

absolutely have to dynamite ourselves out of this complacency that we are in.

I am willing to be a witness as to what the Turks have done, not so much for the sake of punishing or scolding the Turks, but to show the connection between the Turks and the Germans. The Turks are acting and have acted on a small scale exactly as the Germans are acting and intend to act on a much larger scale. I was there and I saw my English colleague, my French colleague, my Russian colleague and Italian colleague, they did not fraternize with the Turkish officials, but Baron Vondenheim took them to his bosom, because they thought alike, they felt alike and they were of the same ilk. And they have penetrated through Turkey. The Germans could have stopped the Armenian atrocities. I have stated it before, and I have the evidence for it.

But now the bigger question at stake is not the Armenian matter alone, but this country, which contains all the protestors from other countries and which has given a home to all those that were not happy where they lived, which has demonstrated that we can intergraft and get together and create a new race—a new nation; we have been providentially created for the purpose of fighting the battles for civilization.

The Germans have deliberately smashed the Mosaic laws; they haven't obeyed a single one of the Ten Commandments. If you just think—one by one they have disobeyed them, they haven't lived up to the Christian law; they haven't lived up to international law; they haven't lived up to what is justice and equality and right; and we

don't seem to realize that all that which together makes up modern civilization is at stake. And we are the ones—this country—that will have to defend it and preserve it.

Our friends across the sea are doing their utmost. They are going to hold the lines. They are going to wait until we are ready. And my friends, there is nothing worse—I don't call it traitorous, I don't propose to give it any adjective—but there is nothing worse at present than dissatisfaction or impatience with the physical preparations that this country is making. If any of you gentlemen were about ready to build a new church, your wish, your desire, the great need of that church, is not going to create it. You will have to go to work and elect your committees, you will have to select your architects; you will have to make your plans; you have to dig your foundations; you have to get your stone; you have to, above all other things, get the funds to build it with, and it will take you months and years. Now the President of the United States has got to coordinate all such things and he has to supply eyes; he has got to have an aeroplane brigade; he has to have submarines; he has to have ammunition, clothes and food for a couple of million people. This cannot be done in six months or a year, and it cannot be just wished for. We all have to do it. We all have to work together, and it is shameful to try and mislead anybody that the mere wish or the need of this tremendous machine, this wonderful organization that is required, can be organized or created overnight or in six months or a year. When it is finished, when it is ready, then with the assistance, co-operation, side by side with

the wonderful English and French Armies, we will be a full match; we will be a complete match for the Germans.

There is one thing can be done now, and that is to mobilize, organize the moral forces of America. I believe that you men, conscious as you are of what your task is, are not aware of the power that you possess. This is going to be a moral fight; it is going to test which force is greater in this world, the force of right or the mere force of might. And there isn't anybody in this room has any doubt about it. But that doesn't make it. You have to reach into your congregations, you have to reach into every nook and corner, you have to tell them what this great struggle is for. They do not realize.

I have just come back from the West. They do not realize, away as they are from the scenes of battle and activity—no one can be expected to fully realize what we are up against unless he has been to the front and has seen it. It is your present duty, it is your great task, to educate the people and show them that you are not fighting for some trifling matter, for the possession of a little land. And it is our duty to so create this force—a titanic force—that we will stand behind our Administration; that we in turn can draw to us all the democratic forces in every country in the world, including Germany. And then we will have no doubt which is the stronger; right will prevail.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR

"From Alsace to Ararat," and to its people "not now a people," run the lines of deliverance, from force, fraud and fear, which the Allies' arms are drawing on the map of the future of mankind. A free Church, in a freed Armenia, has measureless possibilities for the future of Christianity.

I

GREAT BRITAIN'S PART IN THE WAR

AN ADDRESS BY

SIR GEORGE ADAM SMITH

Principal of Aberdeen University, Scotland.

YOU give me a colossal text today, no less than the part which my country has played for now nearly four years in the present terrible war. I shall be able in the time at my disposal, and because I have another meeting in view in half an hour, to present to you only some threads of that vast web, touching so many fronts of the war across the world, which my nation has been privileged to weave during these years of agony and of duty.

I am not going just now to tell you why we are in this war. You who have followed us into it do not need to be told that. The call came to us in the good providence of God in the most clear and signal fashion. As I said two days ago at Union, the words of the Twenty-seventh Psalm through those first days leaped into every man's mind: "The Lord hath led us in a plain path with regard to our enemies." The call was clear and it was signal. And the conscience, not only of the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but of our many free commonwealths beyond the seas, rose to it like the conscience of one man. We have had, as I have

said, now nearly four years of war—of war, the greatest test that can lie upon any people—war, the disillusioner. And yet I want to say here and now and once for all that that original conscience of ours has never wavered. It is as strong, if not stronger today, and those four years of war have only served to strengthen and to articulate the faith, the sense of duty, and the resolution with which we answered God's call to us in this matter. In that conscience we have waited for you, and we are waiting, and we shall hold the line, though the last man of us is washed in blood, until you come along.

Now, to my proper text this afternoon, which, as I say, is a very large one. I want, first of all, to point out to you what I regard and what I think will be regarded by posterity as the most wonderful modern fact in the history of modern Europe, and it is this: We entered this war with an ordinary standing army that did not number more than a few hundreds of thousands. In less than two years, without conscription or compulsion, we had raised an army of five millions. I was sorry that we ever had to take up conscription. I had hoped to see the whole manhood of my nation swept freely into the ranks of our King's forces in this great cause. But it was not to be, and I want to add to what I have said about the raising of that magnificent volunteer army, the largest ever raised in history, that the spirit which has distinguished their successors who have come in under conscription has been not less gallant, not less willing, and not less resolute than that of the volunteers themselves.

It is sometimes said by pacifists on our side of the water—and I saw an echo of this from the mouth of one of your pacifists in a morning newspaper the other day since I landed—that this war and all the recruiting which it has compelled us to, is an old man's conspiracy, the effort of my own generation to push forward with safety to themselves and in the utmost selfishness the youth of their nation to bear the agony and the brunt. That is false, and I know it is equally for you a damnable falsehood. There was not one of our young men, whether he went to war under our voluntary system for the first two years, or later under conscription, but went of his own free will, deliberately, not ignorant of the awful possibilities that lay before him for himself, but conscious also of the moral issues that were at stake, and resolved at whatever sacrifice to do his bit to carry them into victory. Every war is a young man's war, but this war has been the war, not only of the strength of our youth, but of the conscience, of the moral resolution, and of the believing faith of the whole youth of our nation.

I wish I could give you some sections just to let you see what we have done in raising our armies. I will give you just one or two to show you how our population has been stirred. The nearest part of the United Kingdom to America is, I think, the Island of Lewis, in the northern Hebrides. The population of that island is 30,000 all told, men, women and children. How many men do you think passed into the ranks of His Majesty's forces, either in the navy, or the army, before the first year of the war, from that island

alone, out of a population of 30,000? 6,000 men!

I was asking the Colonel of the Gordon Highlanders, how many men they had sent from first to last to the two regular battalions of that regiment. You know a battalion with us is about 1,000 men. And he told me that from first to last they had sent to the front from the depot in Aberdeen between 14,000 and 15,000 men to that one regiment alone.

Two years ago when I was out in the front upon the Somme Valley, there between Neuville and Givenchy, we were stopped in the tremendous crush on the road of lorries and columns of men marching to and fro—we were stopped in our motor car, and I got out on a great, muddy field sloping up under the cold, sunny sky, to speak to the fragments of a regiment from Manchester gathered there, one of the New Army raised by Kitchener. And I found them at the roll call, I think the most pathetic sight I have ever seen in my life. That regiment had gone in between eight and nine hundred strong to the trenches two days before and they were mustered there on their return from the trenches, their first resting place—I can't call it a camp, because it was a field of mud—they were mustered to the tune of 256. After they broke up I spoke to four of them who were gathered together, and I said to one, "What were you before the war?" He said, "I was a ticket collector, Sir, in the Manchester station." "And what were you?" "I was a bus conductor." "And what were you?" "I was a lawyer's clerk." And I forget what the fourth said he was—four ordinary

civilians that had never expected to handle a gun in their lives, and yet they were out there doing their bit, as cheery and as resolute after those horrible days in the trenches as if they had just won a great victory. That was the spirit that inspired our volunteer armies from first to last. One could multiply scenes like that.

Now, what has this great army of ours, great in number, been doing? Well, it began with helping the French to stop the first German invasion. It was their thin line on the Marne and on the Aisne and around Ypres, that kept those hordes of brutal battalions from the Channel and from the French coasts; and we know now ultimately from the shores of our country, against enormous odds, and often sacrificing themselves to the last man. They, the original army, were holding that line until our reserves came up; and always with the hope and the assurance that the American Army in the course of time would be behind them also.

Do you know that the British line in France has stretched ultimately to the length of one hundred miles; that we have held for months one hundred miles of battle front against an army not immeasurably but certainly measurably superior to our own in numbers; and that we have not only held that line for two or three years, but that upon more than one occasion we advanced many miles over the front that lay between us and the Germans and drove them victoriously back?

Another part of the British Army, as you know, has helped to stay the disastrous Italian retreat, and are holding the Austrians and Germans at bay at this moment on the Piave.

We have another large army defending at Salonica, the whole of Greece, and the Eastern Mediterranean, from the Bulgarians, the Turks, and the Austrians combined. We have another army, thank God, advancing slowly, but with unfailing victory, through Palestine, having taken Jerusalem; and whatever the ultimate fortunes of that campaign may be, they have established themselves in an impregnable position upon the hills of Judea.

We have another army garrisoning Egypt and repelling the invasion of the savage tribes which threatened its recently revived civilization. We have another smaller force at Aden holding back the nomad Arabs from commanding our waterway to India, down the Red Sea. We have another host organized in India advancing up the Persian Gulf, marching to Kut-el-Amara to within sight of Bagdad, repulsed there, and retiring, and then reinforced advancing to Bagdad itself; and it now holds the whole of the most fertile land of the world that has so long been devastated and rendered useless by Turkish neglect and oppression.

We have another army garrisoned in India and quelling rebellions upon the northwest frontier, rebellions which I know from my brother, who has a command there, were fomented by German gold and munitioned by German cartridges.

We have had several other armies, as you know, in Africa, until to this day Germany has lost to their arms every one of the vast colonies which she used to possess in that continent. And what are the armies we have been fighting with there

chiefly? They were our foes eighteen years ago n the Boer War. But we came to terms with hem, bringing them into our commonwealth; ve gave them the same freedom which other parts of that commonwealth have always enjoyed. And what was the result? We have had no more able generals on our side, or more successful, than he two former leaders of our enemies, the Boers, Generals Smuts and Botha. And our General Smuts, our former foe of only eighteen years ago, s a member of the high circle of our Governnent, the small and select War Cabinet, and there s none of our counsellors or statemen, whom all of us, whether Irish or Scotch or English, trust nore today than General Smuts.

Now, I must hasten on. That vast army, of course, had to be fed, had to be munitioned, and had to be doctored. And I will say this, that peaking only of the Western fronts, which are he only ones which I have any personal acquantance with, there are no soldiers of the many nillions on those fronts that have ever wanted from irst to last in this great campaign a full meal when hey needed it. They have had, Sir, the primest of our beef, the best of our bacon, the finest of our wheat, kitchens on wheels—traveling kitchens on wheels—follow every regiment, and right up here at the front I have seen in France the hottest neals served out to our men fresh from the trenches. How have we done that? Simply by rationing ourselves at home. Well, Sir, I have been asked o mention in detail by some friends to whom I nentioned it that I took up the other day to a relative in London in high position a six-pound roast

of beef from Aberdeen, where, by the way, the best roast beef of Old England grows. I took up a six-pound roast of beef to that relative in London, and that was in the first week of March, and it was the first beef that had crossed their threshold or butchered meat of any kind since the end of December. In Aberdeen, all our butcher supplies have been cut down to us ordinary families, by exactly one-half. We have been living on half of what we lived on before. Why? Partly to feed London that was in greater want than ourselves, and partly because we didn't want our soldiers fighting at the front to have one ounce of meat less than they had been accustomed to have before.

Take our munitions. We have so amply supplied our forces with munitions during all these years of war, although we were behind time at first, that the Government was actually able to dismiss between thirty and forty thousand munition workers the week before I left because our supplies were so well up at the time. Why, I don't recognize in these days as I travel up and down England and Scotland parts of my own country; huge cities of factories and dwelling places for men and women workers have risen up here and there, just for the bringing out of the munitions. Oh, they are all right as far as munitions are concerned. We will get along spendidly till you come up by our side.

And then the doctoring. There is the most wonderful medical service at work. The whole medical profession of our country has been mobilized, and as if in sympathy with the need of the country the ill health of our civilian population

s gone down by jumps. There has not been arly the amount of complaint, of trouble of any nd, and it is a very remarkable fact, insanity elf has diminished, so that the doctors—I n't know whether their absence has been partly e cause—but in any case our doctors have been bilized almost to the last man for the sake of r soldiers. And it is wonderful what care our diers get from them. You know the sanitary e of their business has been so well organized t the suffering from disease in all our Western mies is a comparatively negligible amount. here armies used to be ravished by typhoid, cholera, and by other epidemics, there haven't en any more than isolated cases of these several eases in our vast army in the West. I will give one incident that came home to my heart ich illustrates this. I was calling in the early rs of the war upon the mother of one of our dents who had been among the first to fall, I found the poor lady, a schoolmistress, a widow, h only one other son, lying in bed and unable do anything but moan out, "Oh, why was he en? Why was it my boy was taken? Why s he taken?" This went on for a time. I ldn't comfort her because my own boy had fallen then, but I said some stumbling words her. And then all of a sudden this old body ned around in her bed, she had been lying with back to me all the time, but she looked at me h the pleasure of pride in her eyes and said, ut, Sir, he had four specialists with him before died." And I found out that that common vate in one of our infantry regiments in France,

having lain after being shot in the head for a mont
with bad wounds before he died, had been visite
during that month by four of the most eminen
surgeons in Great Britain. That is an illustratio
of what we are doing for our men.

Now, just to illustrate this point. How are w
managing it all? Well, we are simply emptyin
our pockets and yielding up either as gifts or a
loans to the Government our savings. The wa
costs seven millions a day, seven millions of pound
to the British Government at present. That
$35,000,000 the war is costing us day by da
How are we raising it? Well, in many way
I think we have got to the end of taxation, th
limit of taxation. But now we are scouring th
country all over, making appeals to the peop
to come forward, as you are beginning to d
with their savings, and their profits, for inves
ments in war loans. We had a War Loan Wee
in my own town of Aberdeen the other day, an
five days the bank was opened, a great tan
brought from the front, and do you know how muc
this population of 160,000 raised in five day
Two and a half million pounds, $12,500,00
London the other day raised seventy-four millio
in one week, $370,000,000.

As I have said I have only given you a fe
threads out of this great web that we have bee
weaving, simply to stir your imagination and abo
all to assure your hearts that we, in Great Britai
and it is equally true of France, are doing our be
by this great cause, not for any selfish reaso
but because of the moral issues involved in i
and that we will continue to spend and be spen

to sacrifice and be sacrificed, until under God's blessing and with your good help we carry that cause to victory.

COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

The stenographic reports of Sir George's two addresses, owing to the fulness of his schedule while in America, were not revised by him, though submitted to him before his departure. Sir George felt, moreover, that these, the first of the 123 addresses he delivered throughout the United States, were not in as finished form as his later utterances.

The editor feels, however, that the volume would be incomplete without Sir George's words, and with apologies to him whereinsoever they were not reported *ipsissima verba*, unhesitatingly judges that they have withal, as printed, such felicity of diction and such finality of discernment on the relations between religion, righteousness and war, that they must be preserved.

The rigor and vigor with which Sir George disposes of the parlor and palaver pacifist in the second address (pp. 53-56) and the appositeness of his quotation from Harless on p. 57, were particularly enjoyed and applauded by his Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church audience.

Yet the greatest service he rendered New York and America was the convincing proof he gave in his first address, and in the tender and lofty eloquence of the conclusion of the second, that the aims of the war, on the part of our Allies, were moral long before America entered it—yea, from the very beginning.

It is one of the antinomies of the history of pulpit opinion in this country that men who were preaching against preparedness as a national and Christian duty as late as May, 1916, through their sympathy with the non-resistant and non-assistant slackers in British circles, awakened only after the war had become national in interest to America to support it as human, humane and a crusade of the Kingdom of God.

II

THE BATTLE FOR TRUE PEACE

AN ADDRESS BY

SIR GEORGE ADAM SMITH

I WANT to thank you before going on with my speech tonight, first of all, for the heartiness with which you have sung the National Anthem of my own people. I want to assure you that never people had King and Queen more worthy of the name than we of Great Britain have today. They have both of them been great spiritual assets to us in this war, true leaders of our democracy, setting, as all leaders according to our Lord Jesus Christ should set, an example of service to the men and women of their land.

Sir, first, it is with no light sense of responsibility that I have begun this work—my mission among you. I have come, Sir, upon the invitation of your own National Committee on the Moral Aims of the War, but with the sanction of the British Foreign Office, and, further, with a commission from my own church, the United Free Church of Scotland.

Sir, highly as I value these latter supports to my coming, I take my stand among you most gratefully and most firmly of all upon the invitation which your National Committee has extended to me. My commission, as defined by them, and my own Foreign Office and the church, is twofold. First, to relate to you, as far as I can, the efforts

of Great Britain on many fields of the war. That I have done already today before a large audience of ministers. And, secondly, to let you know, if indeed you need to know, why we went into the war, why we continued in it, and to assure you that heart and soul we are one with you, the American people, upon those moral aims of the war which on our side of the water have been defined so well by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, and on yours have been stated with such exceeding lucidity and impressiveness by your own President.

Sir, I was present when on Sunday morning you announced this meeting, and I rejoiced to hear you say that it was not to be a pacifist meeting, and that if it had been you wouldn't have been in the chair. Well, that is entirely my own position, and I subscribe to every word of the noble and discriminating address with which you opened our proceedings tonight. Whether I represent myself or whether I represent my Church, that has thrice over by formal vote of our General Assembly affirmed our belief in the righteousness of the war and called upon our ministers and members to render every possible support to our Government in the prosecution thereof, or whether I represent my people who, except for a very small and negligible minority, such as I believe you have among yourselves in America, have but one conscience and one aim in this war, and that is to carry it to a victory for the sake of an enduring and an honorable and a righteous peace.

Fighting though we do, and though we have been for four years, I wish to say at the outset that we are and always have been for peace. Before the

war broke out our Government exhausted every means within their power, as you well know, to avert war. That claim which has never been disproved by our enemies, has lately been confirmed in a most remarkable way by one of them. I allude to the memorandum of Prince Lichnowsky, the late Prussian Ambassador to London, who in this memorandum has declared that in his opinion Sir Edward Grey, our Foreign Minister, did everything that was possible for a statesman to do to preserve the peace of Europe. And today what do we desire but peace still? What else can we desire?

For nearly four years we have drunk almost to the dregs of the cup of the agony of war. We have walked through these years deeper and deeper into the valley of the shadow of death. There is hardly a home known to me, and I speak not only of my own private acquaintances, but as the principal of a large university, whose mournful duty has been either to visit or to correspond with the family of every one of the 234 that we have already upon our Roll of Honor—I say there is hardly a home in my country known to me which has not lost one or two or three sons in the present war. Of a truth, I come to you from a land of mourning—"Rachel mourning for her children, for they are not." Death has come up to our windows, and has entered into our palaces, and day by day our hands have been wrung with all the agonies, the possible agonies, and horrors of war. My own city of Aberdeen is the furthest north in the Kingdom in which there is a large general hospital, or series of general hospitals, containing something over 2,000 beds—the furthest north of that kind

hospital to which our trains carry the wounded, n from the Channel port at which they have rrived from France; and week by week, and often ay by day, we have had the arrival of one after nother of those trains carrying our wounded, our attered, and our blinded sons back to us from ie foul poisonous gases and the deadly artillery our remorseless foes. Who should desire peace not we? Who should pray for it? And yet, and et, and yet, what is peace, I ask you, and what the kind of peace we want?

Of all the blessings promised to us by the Word f God, there is perhaps none, the name of which has een more open to ambiguity, or so often misre-resented, as peace, unless it indeed be its sister ord, its sister name of freedom. From the days f the Prophets onward to our own there have lways been in this world numbers saying, "Peace! eace!" when "there is no peace." Some have pplied the word to the lethargy of their own moral nstincts. Others, as we know from history, have pread desolation and have called that peace. And n our day we can see that the prevailing fallacy n which so much of the false pacifism of our time ests is just that curious confusion which so many ninds make, and which they ought never to have nade, the confusion between merely political eace and the peace which Christ Our Lord romised to us and assured us from the Father. want to speak for a while upon this distinction.

Our Lord, friends, never pledged us political eace, nor is the prevalence of war during these ineteen centuries any proof that His promises ave ever been broken or that His Gospel has

failed. On the contrary, Christ not only assumed and even expressly prophesied that wars would come, but He foresaw that they must sometimes arise out of the very faithfulness of His followers to the truths He had taught them. "Suppose ye that I am come to send peace upon earth? I tell you nay, but rather division. I came not to send peace, but a sword."

In His great verses on peace in the Gospel of John and the other Gospels, it is no outward peace, such as nations are caused to cultivate between themselves which He either foretells or enforces, but the inward peace of reconciliation to God, of faith in His Fatherly love, and of devotion to His will, which will is always righteousness before it is peace, that He assures to His disciples under every tribulation and through every war in which they may be called to serve Him. Brethren, the foundation which is laid in Jesus Christ, "and other foundation can no man lay," the foundation which is laid in Jesus Christ is not love only, but it is truth, and it is justice as well. And if on anything but on all these together we build peace, we are building upon sand. To put peace before justice, to put peace before the redemption of the slave, to put peace before the deliverance of the tortured and the defense of the purity of women and of children, is to turn our Christianity upside down. I think our friends who are guilty of that forget those noble words of God to the prostrate Prophet lying before Him: "Son of Man, stand upon thy feet." On thy feet, not on thy head.

You cannot say that Christ condemned all war between nations any more than that He denounced

the forcible execution of justice within the nation itself. It is difficult for us to believe that He who bade His disciples to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's by the payment of a just and necessary tax, would have restranied His people from serving the state with their lives in the defense of its freedom or at the call of righteousness. In such circumstances the things of Caesar and the things of God may become the same things, and in serving the one in such a war as this, we also serve the other. To quote Christ's example as of Him who did no violence, always seems to me to be beside the argument. To say to Christians, as we hear it sometimes said, that they ought not to be soldiers because it is impossible to conceive of their Master if on earth to-day as bearing arms, is just as true and just as irrelevant as to say that He would not have been a statesman or a judge or an active guardian of civil order—offices which nevertheless no one doubts that Christians may accept, and which they ought not to refuse if God has granted them the strength and the talent for such vocations. Nay, more, it is true that a battle for justice for others and for the redemption of the oppressed may sometimes be the one obvious line along which they are called to obey both His Word and His example by taking up their cross. The final test of all struggle, of all contests, or of all war, is not outward but inward. Not outward force but inward malice is the unfailing mark of the natural order in its contests with the spiritual. But indeed the opinion that war is necessarily a crime on the part of the nations who engage in it, or of the individual soldier, is far too crude for us

to dwell any longer upon it. The truth is, that in the New Testament, as in the Old, peace, the blessing, is promised only as the result and reward of other things. Peace, the duty, has never a primary, but has always a secondary place. Righteousness, as the Chairman nobly remarked, comes first: Righteousness, discipline, patience, purity and courage, the peaceable fruits of righteousness. The wisdom that is from above is first pure and then peaceable. The work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness, and assurance forever.

In harmony with these great voices from the sacred record, let me quote to you one or two opinions with regard to the duty of Christians towards a war for justice from some great fathers and leaders of the Church. And the first whom I quote, I quote with great pleasure in this Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, for he is no less than John Calvin himself. And here is what he says: "Since it makes no difference whether it is by a king or by the lowest of the people that a hostile or devastating inroad is made into a district over which they have no authority, all alike are to be regarded and to be punished as robbers."

Your own Abraham Lincoln: "We accepted this war," he said, "for an object, for a worthy object; and the war will end when that object is attained, under God."

And, Sir, your great predecessor in Birmingham, one of the greatest prophets raised in my country or in any Anglo-Saxon country during the last one hundred years, Doctor Dale of Birmingham, speaking of a war which certainly seemed at the

me far less righteous than that to which we have een called, used these words: "I believe in peace," e said, "in true peace, in peace at any price, in eace even at the price of war."

Now, I am going to quote still another, both ecause he is a German and because his words, hrough they were written more than forty years go, are singularly appropriate to the position of Great Britain and her Allies in the present crisis. "The characteristic of a lawful war," says Harless in is "Christliche Ethik," "is that it is necessary in he interest of justice. If justification is to be found n those international duties which flows from the pecial callings appointed by God to the several ations in their mutual relations," and mark these vords, "and the violation of which a regularly onstituted association of nations has the right to venge, the Christian who recognizes his earthly alling as an individual member of a nation, neither can nor will draw back from the duty of venging breaches of international law. Nay, nowing that in this respect he is not merely in the ervice of an earthly master, but even as a soldier e is serving his God, to whom he owes life and iberty, for the purpose of executing His justice. It is in the Christian soldier that we find the full spirit of sincere self-surrender to the execution of God's justice and His righteousness on earth."

We in Great Britain had in the opportunity, had in the swift occasion, the few hours that were given us to make our decision for war or for peace, and in all the long years of war since, we, I say, had a full opportunity of distinguishing between a peace that is false and a peace that is true. We narrowly

escaped the one, and we found the other, found it through war. I well remember the summer night on which all who understood the issues at stake remained awake all night wondering what our Government would decide, and the sigh, and afterwards the roar, of relief that went up from one end of the land to the other, when we, liberals and Christians though we were, and democrats to the backbone, like yourselves, heard that the Government had seen the national duty in the way of righteousness and in deciding upon war. We might have had a peace, as the world calls it, but it would have been a peace without righteousness, peace with a bad conscience, peace with shame as we knew ourselves unfaithful to our obligations to weaker but gallant peoples who had trusted us for the security of their national existence; peace with remorse as we saw them deprived of their freedom, and our Allies who had taken the field without us, crushed by a ruthless and remorseless foe; and it would also have been peace with a restless, ceaseless, haunting fear at the heart of it as we came to realize, as we assuredly should have done, that without Allies or friends we must have met in our turn the onset of the hatred and ambition of that foe, and that we had betrayed those national interests and free institutions with the charge of which Providence had entrusted us through so large a part of the world.

On the other hand—and I want to bear this testimony to you before I sit down—what has God given us since we went to war, and we may say just because we went to war? A peace unprecedented at home and throughout our Empire,

ıe stilling of party strife and of factions, the conciliation of our former enemies, the Boers, South Africa, till they have taken the lead in all ır campaigns against German cruelty throughout ıe length and breadth of that continent; at ome the stilling of party strife and factions, a eat decrease of class and race hatred, but deeper ill, the tranquility of heart and soul reserved for l who have set their affections on things above, nd who have resolved, come what may of danger, eath or sacrifice, to do their duty by their God nd their fellow men. Such a peace we have seen the homes which have quietly yielded their earest to the war, because they have given them God and the cause of righteousness; and such a eace I have seen over and over again in the hearts our young men who have so magnificently faced eath for His sake and their country. And we ave tested this peace where Christ said it was to e tested, and found it through faith in tribulations, nd we have found it unfailing, in retreat as in dvance, in defeat as in victory. I want to assure ou who are following us this day, to the same elds of struggle and sacrifice, that by finding our duty and proving true to the cause of right-ousness, which calls us to fight against spiritual ickedness in high places, you will, like us, find ıe peace of God.

I

AMERICA'S PART IN THE WAR

ADDRESS BY

DEAN CHARLES R. BROWN, D.D., LL.D.

Yale School of Religion

THE Chairman has struck the keynote of this meeting with that insight which we have learned on this side of the water and on that to expect from him. We are a peace-loving people. Our Declaration of Independence was originally signed, very significantly, in Philadelphia, the "City of Brotherly Love." Our first President, Washington, in his farewell address, prayed that this land might be kept from the scourge of war, and right royally has his prayer been answered. In the one hundred and forty odd years of our history as an independent nation only some ten or eleven years have been spent in foreign wars.

Our first American, Abraham Lincoln, in his second inaugural, pleaded: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in and to achieve among ourselves and with all nations a just and lasting peace." We are a peace-loving people, but we are not a people who believe in peace at any price. The price may be such that no self-respecting nation ought to pay it.

We have seen fit in these days to draw the sword

on the most powerful and the most relentless military organization the earth has ever seen. And we with our Allies are now in process of trying out the question whether or not the forces that can be arrayed by democracies are able to make good when they are lined up against the forces that can be assembled by military autocracy.

This is no toy war, like our little war with Spain. It is the real thing, and if we and our Allies are to win, it will mean that all the forces in our nation must put on khaki, the military and the industrial, the financial and the political, and no less the moral. The conscience of the country must become militant. The moral sense of our nation must be arrayed against the gigantic system of barbarism which is now parading as the Imperial Government of Germany.

I have no apology, therefore, to offer for saying what I am here to say to-night as a Christian minister and in a place of worship. It is a clear cut, definite, moral issue; and because I am a minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ I count it my duty and my privilege to cast all the influence that I may upon the side of righteousness. We did not want the war; it was thrust upon us. No more did our Allies. There was only one nation on earth which really desired the war and was thoroughly prepared for the war, and in those fateful July days of 1914 did everything in her power to bring on the war. "The day" had dawned, the day to which she had been drinking her insolent toasts. The opportunity had come, as she believed, to put across her dream of worldwide dominion. It is useless, therefore, for us now to consider what

might have been or to wish it might have been otherwise. We are where we are, and our work has been cut out for us by other hands than our own.

We have been exceedingly patient here in this country with the conduct of that Government. We have been patient clear up to the border of what has seemed to some of our friends like a lazy cowardly acquiescence in lawlessness and crime. We realized a long time ago that we were dealing with a government which regarded its own treaties as mere scraps of paper, and had no sense of national honor in her diplomatic intercourse with those nations with whom she professed to be at peace. We saw the invasion of Belgium, which men in the University who know their history better than I know mine, are saying will go down as the greatest crime in the annals of the race. Here was a small nation surrounded by powerful nations. In order that the small nation might maintain her neutrality and not allow herself to be used by any one of those powers against another, they signed a treaty. It was signed by Belgium and by Great Britain and by France and by Russia and by Germany. There were others. Let those suffice. When the hour struck to test the value of that treaty, Great Britain kept her word and France kept her word and Russia kept her word, and Belgium, almost at the cost of her life as a nation, kept her word. She stood in a place called "Calvary" and allowed herself to be nailed to a cross hand and foot rather than deny her obligations. And Germany broke her word. No amount of intellectual shuffling will ever change that fact. She did it openly, wantonly, in the eyes of the world. "The wrong

're are committing" her own prime minister, Von Bethman-Hollweg, said in the Reichstag, "we will ndeavor to make good when once our military oal shall have been reached." That military oal has not been reached, and, please God, it never ill be reached.

Right there the German Government made self an outlaw among nations that keep their ord, and the moral sense of our own country rose revolt. Then we saw the sinking of the *Lusi-nia*, the drowning of hundreds of helpless men, omen and children, without warning, and in flat efiance of international law. We saw the judicial urder of men like Capt. Fryatt and women like dith Cavell. We saw Zeppelins begin to do their astardly work of hurling down bombs on unfor-fied towns and villages, killing men and women nd children. Up to that time when decent nations ad gone to war, men fought with men, and only ith men. It has remained for that Government o introduce this new and barbarous form of making ar upon women and children. When I read the ccount of the killing of more than a hundred eople on last Friday as they were worshipping on ood Friday in the house of God, by German shells red from seventy miles away, in flat defiance of l of the usages of modern warfare, when I read hat it seemed to me that there was nothing left ow to complete the story of anti-Christ. I do ot want to say anything unkind about that mad ilitary caste in Potsdam. I find some moral elief in emphasizing the last syllable of that word. do not want to say anything unkind, anything ngentlemanly, but when I read the record of that

Government, it seems to me that if the evil one himself had been arranging the details he could have had something to learn from the present Government in Berlin. It has been a frightful offense to the moral sense of the race.

We saw after that the helpless Armenians being butchered by the Moslems, as we know from letters written home by German missionaries, with the connivance of German officers. We saw hospital ships, loaded to the water's edge with wounded soldiers and their Red Cross nurses, flying the Red Cross flag, sent to the bottom by German submarines for the sake of "military advantage." We had our own rights as a neutral trampled upon under the arrogant assumption that the necessities of that Government knew no law. And at last to crown it all we detected the accredited representatives of that Government here with words of friendship on their false lips, plotting with Mexico and seeking to extend that plot into Japan, to break up the peace between our own country and our neighbors. And the moral sense of this nation began to cry out, "How long, O Lord, how long?"

War is a terrible thing. War is a terrible thing, no and nation will enter lightly into war. But there are things that are worse than war. The lazy, cowardly, acquiescence in lawlessness and crime is worse; the loss of the capacity for moral indignation is worse; the lack of readiness to sacrifice comfort, profits, life itself, if need be, for those great principles that alone make human life life, would be worse. And when the President of the United States stood up a year ago in the presence

of Congress and in the presence of us all and interpreted to us our deeper mood, the whole country rose and stood with him. It said, "The words are well spoken. Now, we will go out and translate them into deeds that every race on earth will understand." And we therefore find ourselves in war.

Now, in my judgment, Germany has done something worse than to perpetrate the outrages she has on Belgium and Poland and Serbia, and that certainly is saying a very great deal. And that worse thing which she has done has been this: she has gone far towards the breaking down of faith between land and land, and that has been a more serious wrong to the world than even her physical outrages. There are only two ways for nations to live together: one is on the basis of international good faith. We have tried that with our neighbor to the north. For more than a hundred years nothing but an imaginary line has divided us for 3,800 miles from territory belonging to the most powerful empire in the world. More than a hundred years ago we agreed with them that not a single frowning fort, either theirs or ours, should mar that boundary line, and that the peaceful waters of the Great Lakes should not be troubled by any warship of either country, and for more than a hundred years that understanding has been kept.

The other way for nations to live together is on the basis that might makes right; on the basis of treachery and spies, and all that goes to break down the faith between land and land. And national and international life upon that basis becomes

impossible. The only way in which business life can be conducted is on the basis of confidence between man and man. The only basis for social life is for friend to trust friend and neighbor to trust neighbor. And the only basis upon which we can live together as nations is on the basis of international good faith. And Germany has gone far towards breaking down this sense of confidence between land and land.

Now compare for a moment the motives of the two countries, the end she has in view and the motive of our own country, as I am to speak particularly of the participation of the United States in the war. The German people have been fed for a long time on a false philosophy. They have believed in "the will to power," all moral considerations aside. They have held the idea that the only thing to be ashamed of is the inability to go and take what you want. The gospel which was preached to the German soldiers by the Kaiser when they were sent to China, was this: "So bear yourselves that for a thousand years not a single Chinese will dare to look askance at a German." The idea has been urged that the more powerful nation has a right to impose itself upon the smaller countries and that they have no rights which are to be considered when Germany undertakes to "hack her way through." That has been the aim of that Government.

Now, consider for a moment, our own motives. We have not entered into this war with any selfish desire for conquest. As God knows our hearts we do not covet an acre of territory belonging to any other power on earth. We have not entered

into it with any sordid desire for material gain. We were already becoming almost disgracefully rich in manufacturing munitions and furnishing supplies to the belligerent nations. If they could have fought it through without our help it would have been money to have stayed out. As it is, it will cost us, no one knows how many billions. We have not entered into this war in any spirit of touchiness because our national honor has been offended. Our national honor has been offended, but we would not plunge a whole land into war upon any such basis as that. We have not entered into this war with any desire to punish Germany, much as we believe her government needs punishment. We remember who it was who said "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." We are not seeking to take those issues of penalty out of His hands. There are no hymns of hate being composed or sung here on our side of the water. They would not fit the lips of our soldiers, as they did not fit the lips of the soldiers of England and France.

"A song of hate is a song of hell,
And some there be that sing it well.
So let them sing it loud and long,
We lift our hearts in a loftier song.
We lift our hearts to Heaven above,
Singing the glory of that we love."

We have not entered into this war with any desire to impose our own ideas upon the German people as to the sort of government they should have. We are willing that they should have any kind of government they desire, as long as they keep it for home consumption. We believe in this

country that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We confess to a frank preference for democracy, and we could wish for no happier fate than to live under the reign of the common people. In the year of our Lord 1815, Great Britain and her allies put the Island of St. Helena upon the map by banishing to that island the disturber of the peace of Europe. And if in the year of our Lord 1918, Great Britain and her Allies should put some other island on the map by banishing to that island the present—(very hearty applause)—I see it is altogether unnecessary to finish the sentence. You have finished it for me.

We have entered into this war for two reasons: First we were unwilling to stand by and allow other nations to be bled white or to be crippled and broken in the resistance they were offering to international lawlessness and crime and in the defense they were making for those principles of justice and freedom which are the glory of our own history. And in the second place, we have entered into this war because we would rather fight with our Allies than without them, and we do not desire an invading army here on our coasts, as they have had in Belgium and in the northern provinces of fair France.

We are profoundly grateful here for the presence of that British fleet. Those ships which lie yonder by day and night, steam up, always at attention, grey, silent, invincible, keeping watch not only over those islands that built them and manned them, but keeping watch over the higher civilization of the world! We rejoice that they are there.

And within a very few months after the beginning of the war all of the German ships, naval and merchant vessels, had ceased to sail the high seas. They were either tied up ingloriously at home or interned in foreign ports, or at the bottom of the ocean. The British fleet has seen to that, and the German navy, built up at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars, has been doomed to spend all these years paddling to and fro in the muddy waters of the Kiel Canal like some lame domestic duck. We are grateful for the presence of the British fleet, and we stand with those Allies, not to fight a battle of selfish imperialism but to fight with them as the British fleet itself fights, for the higher interests of the entire race.

And as I go about—I have been speaking in more than a score of our military camps—I find the minds of our people are busy upon such ideas as these: Is might to be allowed to usurp the place of right? Is international good faith only an empty phrase to be trampled under foot by any nation at will, or is it a magnificent reality? Is that body of usages and agreements, slowly built up by centuries of effort, which constitute our international law, is that meant to be obeyed or meant to be tossed aside as only a scrap of paper? Is the whole world to be at the mercy of any mad military caste that may take it into its head to impose its will upon it, or is there a possibility of such a "world league of nations" as shall have both the mind and the power to keep the peace and good order of the world? These are the great moral ideas that are occupying the minds of our men and women in these serious times.

I am not at all concerned as to whether our nation is strong enough. Our country will show itself strong enough to bear herself with power by land and by sea and in the upper air. I am not disturbed as to whether or not our nation is rich enough to see this struggle through. It will cost, but as the call comes for Liberty Loans and for increased income taxes and for all the financial exactions of the war, the wealth of our land will not be withheld. I am confident that our young men who have donned the khaki or the blue at the call of the country will show themselves courageous as they line up with the young men of our honored Allies. I am mainly concerned that our country in this great issue may be good enough to accomplish the purpose for which I believe it is called of God; that it may be good enough to have a large and honorable part in that world renewal which, please God, ought to follow upon all this agony and bloody sweat. And therefore I am praying that as we go forward to struggle and to suffer and to win victory, we may cast out of our own national life the greed and the lust, the falsity and inhumanity, so that with clean hands and pure hearts we may be ready to stand in that holy place and to have a part in so setting the world upon that basis of justice that will stand. Then the peace will be, as our Chairman has said, a rational and a righteous peace.

"If, drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,
Or lesser breeds without the law—

Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget.

"Far called, our navies melt away;
On dune and headland sinks the fire:
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
Judge of the nations, spare us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget.

"The tumult and the shouting dies;
The captains and the kings depart;
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget."

NOTE BY THE EDITOR

But our captains cannot "depart" until the Hohenzollern and some other Kings are hull down—down on their way to St. Helena or some lonelier isle.

The universal approval by the the Nation of President Wilson's response, October 14, 1918, to the "present German Government," is a proof that the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church audience, April 4, 1918, was a forecast of American opinion even three months before the delivery of the President's Mt. Vernon address. Dean Brown's audience applauded the sentiment of a personal punishment of the Kaiser before the sentence was finished.

See First Paragraph, page 68.

ADDRESS BY

TALCOTT WILLIAMS, LL.D.

Columbia School of Journalism

I SPEAK here as a layman, to urge upon you the moral aims of this war, as they have been shaped by the Church of Christ. We sit here, Christian men and women, in the house of God, to support those moral aims, to express them, and to see that they are executed. There has been much loose talk and some loose writing upon this great crisis during the last three and a half years. The Church of Christ has been silent and has not prescribed the path of the State. It is not the business of the Church of Christ to govern. Whenever the Church has governed it has lost as a Church and it has failed as a government. The Church, as its Master said, is a leaven, which leavens the whole lump. It silently leavens the whole lump, till out of it comes the consciousness of moral aims, the conviction of moral duty, and the determination to execute both. This has been the office of the Church, to create through its influence a mighty, a free, and a fearless polity, which would execute moral aims through the sword of the magistrate, "not borne in vain." And this sword of the magistrate was never unsheathed for a fuller need, for a holier cause, or with the certainty of more complete punishment upon the man of sin who has taught us in Belgium and in Northern France what the scripture meant when it spoke of the abomination of desolation. At every stage the

Church began the democracy, the only organism which the world has known which knew neither Greek nor Scythian, nor bond nor free, and out of that democracy it leavened society, until freedom came through law. But it was not the Church that drew the Bill of Rights or the Declaration of Independence, or the Federal Constitution. None but Christian states have ever of their own instance abolished slavery. But it is not the Church which took these steps, but the society which the Church had leavened through its influence. And so at every stage it has come to pass that the Church founds institutions, common education, colleges, universities, hospitals, and these are all in due turn taken by the State which the Church has educated. And today in this great war, let us thank God that a Christian people at every stage is showing the education and the moral purpose of the Christian Church which has educated it. Why is it that our land for the first time in the history of war has sought to protect its sons from temptation? Not because the Church enacted or executed this desire, but because the Church had taught the purity of its Master. And the Church has given to society the Red Cross of Calvary, as the badge of its service. And it is because the leaven of the Christian Church has been felt through this nation, that it steps forward today into the field of war to minister and not to be ministered unto, to give its sons a ransom for many, to pass from the Gethsemane of the trench, over the top to the Calvary of death and sacrifice, that humanity may be freed and the emancipation of nations from the sins of the past be completed by this redemptive office. This

is the task which the Church has discharged, and to day the Church which began the great task by leavening the nation until slavery was abolished turns to the two great aims of the future, the abolition of war, and the abolition of the king business, which in all ages has brought war.

By what power was it asserted that certain men are set apart to rule over others, as it was asserted half a century ago that certain races were set apart to serve others? This country fought one war in order that that heresy and impious and immoral assertion should be swept aside, but that no race was made to serve others, and it won that war. And it has entered upon a war which proposes to abolish that other impious and immoral assertion that certain men and certain families are set apart to rule others. And it will win that war. Since war gave the first slave, and the first king gave the first war, it purposes by abolishing kings and bringing nations into a league for peace, to end war for all time to come. And the United States and the American people have stepped forward to discharge this great duty, these twin moral aims of the war, not because the Church has executed its will or enacted laws or sought to govern, or departed from the just duties of the Christian Church, but because from the foundation of this nation it has been leavened by churches like this, and by communities like that which sacrifices and worships in this place, and has made the land a Christian nation in peace, and a nation still more Christian in a righteous war.

This land for the first time in the history of man enters upon a war of the Ten Commandments; we

ropose that never again shall one nation covet ne land of another, or seek to carry off its inhabi- ants to become man-servants and maid-servants. Ve intend that never again in history shall one ation bear false witness against another, as ustria bore it against Serbia, and refused it the oor privilege of arbitration. We propose that urder by kings shall be ended, and the sixth ommandment enforced. We intend that the eventh commandment, more foully broken in is war than in any conflict of history, shall never gain be disregarded, by men, by a military caste r by a kaiser who uses even a breach of the seventh ommandment to intimidate the country which he as sought to murder. We propose that respect r age shall be enforced after a war in which the ged have been slaughtered as never before in a ar between civilized nations and barbarism. Ve propose a long sabbath of peace for mankind. Ve intend once for all that never again shall a aiser take God's name in vain.

We propose that the idol of autocracy shall be hattered, and that from some Sinai of Liberty he voice of God shall be again heard, saying, "I am he Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the esert of autocracy to the promised land of liberty. hou shalt have no other God but me—the God f democracy and freedom, of righteousness and ustice, and of peace forevermore."

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

AN ADDRESS BY THE

HON. THEODORE MARBURG, LL.D.

Ex-Ambassador to Belgium

THE League to Enforce Peace has had a mighty accession of strength in you gentlemen. Our chivalrous friend, Henry van Dyke, in one of his allegories portrays the angels in heaven pondering the evils of the world. Uriel asserts that it is lack of knowledge that explains the existence of evil. He is reminded of the peoples who have had great learning and yet practiced unspeakable oppression and injustice. The Archangel Michael asserts that power is the thing that is needed to set right the wrong. His attention in turn is called to the nations who have had great power and used it cruelly. At that moment a little figure comes floating through the air with palpitating hands crying, "I know, I know, it's love." And the Christ Child drops to earth that Christmas morn, the angels streaming down after Him jewels from a dark blue sky.

Love, affection, humane qualities are at the foundation of progress, the very condition of progress. The accession of you gentlemen to this movement is absolutely essential if a league is to succeed. We have got not only to set up the organization; we have got to have the spirit which will lead men to apply the machinery which is given to them.

But it isn't love alone that will do it.

This tremendous catastrophe with all its confusion through which we are passing has brought out several things very clearly. One is the bankruptcy of education without the spirit. Prussia was the earliest of the countries to apply universal, compulsory education.

It has brought out, secondly, the bankruptcy of power without the spirit. Germany represents the greatest military power of our times, probably of all times. She is engaged today in tearing down the fair mansion of right thinking and of right doing; she is suffering frightfully and will suffer more. On the other hand, turn to Russia and you see what happens when men attempt to apply the ideal without organization. Russia is an example of the effect of Tolstoi's teachings of absolute non-resistance. You remember he said that if you change from the despotic to the democratic form of government you are only changing the men whom you place over you to rob you and oppress you. What he believed in was no government. It is curious how a mind so big as his could read history and reach that conclusion.

Just as Russia is an example of what happens within the State without organization, so this great world war is an example of what happens between States without organization.

I recall in April, 1916, telling Sir Edward Grey how he enjoyed the universal respect of the people of this country; how we felt that he had stood for what was decent in international affairs, had stood for right, and endeavored to prevent

war, endeavored to prevent this war. It was in that handsome but plain room of his at the Foreign Office in Downing Street. I shall never forget the thoughtful look in his eyes when he answered, "Yes, but when one has tried to prevent war and failed"—and there he stopped. But, Sir Edward Grey could not have prevented this war. There is not anything he could have done that would have prevented this war short of telling Germany that if she persisted in bringing it on she would find England by the side of France and Russia. And this he could not say because the English people were not ready to follow him in such a step at that moment. It was not until the purpose of Germany was revealed—revealed as by a flash of lightning at midnight—by the invasion of Belgium, that the English people lined up solidly behind him. The Kaiser had made up his mind that the time had come to set in motion once again that tremendous military machinery which Prussia and Germany had been building up for two generations, ever since Bismarck was old enough to form a policy. In the whole of history no man has ever made such a mistake as the German Kaiser. Milton pictured such a mistake on the part of an angel when he described Satan's revolt in heaven, but you may search the annals of men in vain for a parallel.

Everything was Germany's. She had a treaty with Belgium by which she used the port of Antwerp as if it were her own; she had a similar treaty with Holland giving to her the use of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. These treaties gave her the right at the same time to use the railroads without discrimination. Her goods flowed back

and forth through these ports as freely as if they were German ports. That, in addition to her own great ports of Hamburg and Bremen! Her flag, as you know, was on every sea. The English Empire, with the exception of the self-governing colonies which had set up a small differential in favor of the mother country, opened its doors as freely to the German merchant as to its own nationals. In its final analysis, Germany's objection to the English fleet is that it has stood in the way of German ambition, and thank God it has.

I take it, gentlemen, that we are here to deliberate together, and not to speechmake. The idea of these meetings, as I understand it, is to clear up questions about this important movement in which we are engaged, the double object of which is to awaken the moral forces of the country in earnest support of the war and to promote the cause of world organization. You recall Plato's definition of the free man as he who has sufficient control over his appetites to be governed by reason in choosing between good and evil. What nation is free in that sense to-day? What one of them but would lay down the burden of armaments if it were free to do so? Freedom is secured only by a surrender of license. The one license which we demand that nations shall surrender is the license to go to war at will. That is at the bottom of the League's program.

This movement has gone on simultaneously in the United States, in England, in France, and in the small neutral countries. In England you have Lord Bryce's group and the League of Nations

Society, the Fabian group and the Union of Democratic Control, all working out plans; in America the League to Enforce Peace. The group of neutral nations is under the leadership of the Central Organization for a Durable Peace, with headquarters at The Hague.

The fundamental element of all those plans is that no nation may go to war without submitting its dispute for preliminary inquiry. You ask what good that is going to do. Now, some of you may have read that report of James R. Garfield, as Secretary of Commerce and Labor—one of the ablest State papers since Alexander Hamilton's report on the condition of the treasury—in which it appears very clearly that mere inquiry, bringing out the facts, serves not only to correct illegal practices but even unjust practices not covered by the law. Publicity is the thing we are after. That is to say, laying the facts not only before the world, but before the people of the country which is expected to fight.

There is also a movement in America based upon the idea of voluntary institutions, an idea which many of us followed before this war. Its followers assert that public opinion, and not force, is the all-important thing. They forget that, while laws cannot be enforced without the support of public opinion, it is public opinion plus the law and the sheriff that insures justice and order within the State. When this war began many men felt that the time had come to introduce force into international institutions. We had seen the various institutions at The Hague working very well up to a certain point. The Permanent Court of Arbi-

tration, the International Commission of Inquiry, Mediation and Arbitrations specially instituted, had all done good work; but they were not able to prevent this war.

Now, it has been suggested that these two movements should be united, but—well, when the old Southern judge had made up his mind that Ephraim was guilty of borrowing those neighbors' chickens, he said to him, "What I cannot understand is how you got those chickens with two fierce dogs in the yard and a man upstairs with a loaded gun." And the darkey replied, " 'Deed, Jedge, dere's no use my telling you; you couldn't learn to do it. Jedge, you'd better continue to buy your chickens in de market like an honest man and confine your rascality to de bench where you am at home." Now, there was grave danger of confusing the two movements and we felt that it was much better for our respective groups to confine their rascalities to their respective fields. The program of the World's Court League we accept wholly but they do not accept our program wholly; they do not accept this element of force in international institutions. That element, force, has been accepted by President Wilson, who has been the foremost and most effective single leader in the world in this movement. With his insight into political institutions, his ripe knowledge of history, and the ability to discern great world currents, he has expressed it with a power and eloquence such as no man has, or mayhap could have, displayed. We are each fond of our own way of expressing things, but we must all recognize in him a master of style

His support caused the whole world to pay attention to the project.

Then we have Sir Edward Grey anticipating Mr. Wilson in supporting it publicly. We had M. Briand, the French Prime Minister, accepting it. Even the Imperial German Chancellor, von Bethman-Hollweg, forgetting that it was his country which brought about this sea of blood, talked in hypocritical fashion about the world being so surfeited with blood that it would be sure to set up such a league after the war. Only yesterday, however, the dispatches reported Germany semi-officially disclaiming any faith in a league of nations, asserting that it would deceive men and that in time they would come to curse it. What does that mean? It means just what Germany's behavior in opposing the organization of a rudimentary world machinery for years has meant; it means that she intends to go on with aggression. That is why she has got to be put down. And Germany can't win this war, gentlemen. To say that she can would be to deny that reason orders the universe. It would be to enthrone unreason. Wrong often triumphs locally; wrong universally recognized as wrong cannot triumph.

We have got to win this war; and one way to win it is to bring back Russia to our side. How are you going to do it? Not by putting money into the hands of a government which we know does not represent anything like the majority of the Russian people—an active minority of the worst, misruling an apathetic majority! It seems futile to attempt to organize Russia under them. What we have got to do is to introduce the Allied Army

under the leadership of faithful Japan. The other Allies can easily be represented by small forces so as to make that army international. We can proclaim, as the United States did when it declared war on Spain, that we mean to quit when it is over. And the United States did quit. It kept its word. Back of that wall of steel we could then organize in Russia the men who stand for constitutional government and decency. This is a cheap crew paid by Germany which is running Russia now.

I recommend to you gentlemen that you examine the program of the League to Enforce Peace. The question is asked as to whether the proposed machinery is being worked out in detail. Yes, both private and public groups are at work on it. A private study group in America has framed an actual draft convention, and President Wilson has designated Colonel House to take up the work officially. The French Government has likewise appointed an official committee with such men as Leon Bourgeois and Louis Renault as members. The English Government is studying the question. Then, too, I have word that the neutral countries are examining officially the subject of a draft convention; so that there is no lack of application to the problem of machinery.

Briefly, this machinery will probably consist of a ministry of a few men who will sit constantly at some small capital of Europe, watching international events; men like Mr. Taft, like Sir Edward Grey, like Count Albert Apponyi of Hungary, men who are not at present in office but have held important office in the past, who can measure the effect. Had we had such men during

the past century sitting together and watching international developments in Europe, would we not have witnessed fewer wars?

Next, there is to be a true Court composed of judges by profession, leaning on precedent, building up the law just as the great common law of England was built up. Moreover, the very existence of this Court would invite the codification of certain spheres of international law.

There will also be a Council of Conciliation to deal with questions of political conflict, which cannot be dealt with by a Court. And there will be a quasi-legislature which will make laws "ad referendum." The world is not ready for a super-state; we can only set up a legislature whose acts shall be law unless they are denied within a specified period by the States of the League.

INDEX

Bolshevikism and autocracy both expressions of perverted power (p. 79-85). The Kaiser's mistake (p. 80). Antwerp, before the war, a German port by treaty with Belgium; Rotterdam and Amsterdam also (p. 80). Every English port also (p.81). Objection to English fleet its opposition to Germany's ambition (p. 81).

The League to Enforce Peace needs the interest of the clergy (pp. 78-85).

A limitation of sovereignty at base of League (p. 81). National groups at work on idea (pp. 81, 82, 84, 85). Invokes the power of publicity (p. 80). Differs from World's Court League by invoking force in addition (pp. 82, 83). The mechanism (pp. 85, 86).

I

THE CHURCHES AND THE LIBERTY LOAN

AN ADDRESS BY

MR. GUY EMERSON

Publicity Director, Liberty Loans, Second Federal Reserve District

IT may possibly seem a little odd to you that one engaged in a financial operation should consider himself working for the moral aims of the war. And yet we should not have been able to increase the bondholders of the United States in two brief campaigns of 30 days each from something like 350,000 to nearly 10,000,000 if the work had not been based upon inspiration and upon Christian effort, and not simply upon a desire for gain on the part of those who bought United States Government bonds.

Many of the clergy have sometimes said to us in the past, and I am glad to say the remote past, that they considered this a financial operation, and consequently it was a job primarily for bankers. Ladies and gentlemen, it is not a financial transaction; it is a transaction which has to do with the stimulation, the organization of the morale of a whole people in a righteous cause.

Not many months ago I heard in this place a veteran of this war who spoke of personal experience at the front. He had been wounded, and he came here to tell, in a simple straightforward manner,

of his experiences in France. I was not looking at the rest of the people present, but I think I am safe in saying that there was not a dry eye in this church. I am not coming to you in these serious times with a financial story. I am coming because I firmly believe that those of us who are working here at home are on the firing line, and without the work of us here, the men in France cannot win the victory that we must have.

The Third Liberty Loan will start on Saturday. We have been preparing for it for nearly a year. The first Liberty Loan was part of our preparation, the work went on without interruption until the Second Liberty Loan, and at the close of the Second Liberty Loan the work has continued up to the present moment, when we believe that we are prepared to offer the co-operation, the suggestions for organization, which will bring this loan through to an overwhelming oversubscription. This is impossible, however, without the co-operation of the Church. I say that because the sale of these bonds is not emphasized in our propaganda to a very large extent. Not very long ago a prominent banker came into our office and asked particularly to see our advertisements. During the period of the Liberty Loan campaigns we used in this district great quantities of advertising which is contributed to the Government by patriotic firms and corporations all over the district. I gladly produced the advertising copy which we had prepared, and he looked it over with extreme care. In fact I was greatly surprised that a banker should be so much interested in advertising copy. Finally he finished looking it through, and

he turned to me and said, "It is amazing to me that when I finished reading this copy I have an impulse to buy bonds, and yet I have to remind myself that this is really a financial transaction." I responded to him that after all it was not a financial transaction: it was a transaction which is part and parcel of the stimulation of the morale of the whole people.

The details of the co-operation between the Liberty Loan Committee and the Church have been outlined to you before. They have been made the subject of a pamphlet which has been placed in the hands of the clergy throughout this district, and it would be out of place to go into those details here. The only point, the only message that I could possibly have for you is to emphasize over and over again the fact that the winning of this war does not depend on money, on ships, on men. It depends on the enthusiasm, the deep convictions expressed in terms of unified national action, to back up our soldiers and sailors.

I was very much interested not long ago in connection with preparing a booklet for our women's committee, to read the story of a woman who had been in France, who had met General Pershing, and who had talked with some of our soldiers who are now in the first line trenches. She said that she found no trace anywhere of uncertainty on the part of the soldiers in France. One man said to her "Why, we'll win through if the folks at home stand by us." She talked to General Pershing, she talked to many of the staff officers, and she was deeply impressed with one statement that was made to her with regard to the number of letters

from home that come to the soldiers each day. They come in thousands, mostly from mothers. Possibly on a particular day it may fall to the duty of those men to go over the top. Those generals pointed out to her that very often in a battle the morale of the respective forces turns the tide of victory or defeat, and that that morale may be made up of some five or ten per cent. on one side or the other. Let us suppose that fifty thousand letters are received in one army division in a day, and let us suppose that fifteen per cent. of those letters are complaining or gloomy, expressing the wish that the man at the front would come back home. The depressing effect is very easy to imagine; and this woman stated to me personally that those generals were willing to tell her without qualification that many a battle rested almost entirely as to its final outcome in the hands of the mothers of America. That brings us very close to the firing line.

In selling Liberty Bonds we are winning the war. We don't talk very much about the interest. The interest rate is high. The bonds are security. You are guaranteed 100 cents on the dollar, but all that is largely beside the point. The main point is that there is a direct unbroken connection between the purchaser of a bond and the men in the trenches.

Just as I was leaving my office to come here there was laid on my desk the proof of an advertisement to be used on the sixth of April, the anniversary of the day that we entered this righteous war. It seemed to me to illustrate very fully the message that I have to bring to you tonight, and

I am going to run it over, because it will give you a little advance information of the keynotes of this campaign and the general lines upon which the appeal that we will make and that you will make will go forth to many millions of people. We take as our text the very famous, probably the most famous speech that was ever made in this country.

"On November 19, 1863, Abraham Lincoln made an immortal speech on the battlefield of Gettysburg. His words ring as clear and as true today, line for line, a message to Americans at war, as they did when he spoke them so eloquently more than half a century ago. Let us apply these words to ourselves.

> "Our fathers," he said, "brought forth a nation conceived in liberty. Our soldiers gave their lives that that nation might live. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom."

On April 6, 1918, let us dedicate ourselves anew to the great task we have in hand. The flower

of America is in France. They offer for us the last full measure of devotion. Let us be with them in our thoughts, our work, every hour of every day, until they come home to us victorious. And let us remember that the world will little note what we say here, but what we do here counts. Liberty Bonds will help to save the lives of our men in France and on the sea. Let us roll up a subscription that will set the world on fire. Let us make the victory swift and sure. Some of these boys will not return to us, but our overwhelming offering of dollars to our country will show the world that we shall not turn back, that we have resolved and acted on that high resolve, that these dead shall not have died in vain."

II

AN ADDRESS BY

MR. BROOKS LEAVITT

Publicity Chief, Division of Churches, Second Federal Reserve District

MAY I take you into the confidence of the Liberty Loan Committee for a few minutes with regard to our plans, so far as those plans have to deal with church activity. We want every man in this profession to regard himself as an ex-officio member of this committee. The previous Liberty Loan Committees have been admirably supported by the clergy and by the church people generally, but there has been no wide concerted movement to get the ministers to function as one great organization! That is what we are trying to bring about.

The plan which we have sent out to you within the last two or three days explains in considerable detail what we would like to have you do so far as that plan is applicable to your own peculiar local situations. It is not inelastic. It can be added to by any features that occur to you as particularly likely to produce results. You can take away a little bit if it does not fit in with your usual procedure. But we believe that in very large measure you will find it possible to adopt the entire plan.

It is hardly necessary to discuss at a meeting arranged by this organization and for this purpose, the reason why we decided to invite the clergy to

participate in mobilizing all the religious forces in aid of this Liberty Loan, because one of the first things that we have got to do, we people back home, if we can't fight, is, we have got to pay. Now, of course, there is no profession in our country or anywhere else that has so much to do with making of public sentiment as has the clergy. The Church has been traditionally the leader not only of spiritual opinion but of political and social opinion as well. And realizing the tremendous potential power which was yet untapped, we decided to invite the clergy to come into this campaign, not haphazardly and as each individual might think it wise to do, but as a body, and as a profession and as a religious people.

We have decided also that the previous campaigns have lacked color and beauty and music, and those other subtle appeals to the sensibilities which are kindred to religion and to patriotism, and one of the things that we want to stress very much in this campaign is music. We have written, or rather, there has been written and submitted to us, a very beautiful piece of typical church music entitled "The Liberty Anthem." It has been given to us by the author, who makes it a stipulation that not a cent shall be made out of this anthem by anybody; so it is not to be sold, but it is to be given away, not distributed promiscuously, but given to those who will use it, and, of course, we give it to the churches first, and ask that they sing it at every service during the campaign, and that their congregations participate. You have received five copies, if those are not enough, ask for more. We are going to send you

the words printed on slips. Put these in the pews, if you do not object, and let the congregation learn to sing this anthem, and sing it every Sunday at the morning service.

Another thing I don't want to miss is the special musical feature for Liberty Loan Sunday, which has been designated for April 21st. We ask you to request your choirs—the weather will be probably favorable at this time of the year—and invite your congregations to gather in front of the church on the sidewalk, or the church porch, and there to sing "America" and "The Star Spangled Banner" and "The Liberty Anthem," and anything else you may want to sing. And if in New York City that plan is carried out unanimously, if the windows are up on that day, as they probably will be, there won't be a man, woman, or child, in this entire city, who won't know that the Liberty Campaign is on, and that the churches are leading it. And it doesn't cost a cent. There are hundreds of features being put over that are expensive, that cost money. This thing doesn't cost anything but application and energy and an interest in the cause. It is very, very simple.

We have a pantomine which has been arranged for the Sunday-School children. Also a card showing, on one side, General Allenby entering Jerusalem on foot, and on the other the contrasting entry of the Germans into Belgium. This card is to be distributed to the children so the children will go home and ask questions. There is nothing more productive of results in a family than questions by the children. We want this loan talked about in the homes. How could you effect this

better than by the introduction of this subject through the children, in whom the home is most interested, and for whose protection this war is being fought. We are going to ask you to produce this pantomine on the 21st of April, or if that time is not convenient, to produce it one week later. It is very simple, adapted to any size Sunday-School. The properties can be found in any garret or country dry-goods store, for that matter. It is very easily produced and we hope you will all try it. But remember this, that you are all considered to be members of the Liberty Loan Committee. We look to you for the greatest movement, emotionally and religiously, the greatest movement of leadership, which this country has seen in its patriotic awakening.

Printed in the United States of America.

MB
RD-75.

Deacidified using the Bookkeeper proce
Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide
Treatment Date: MAY 2001
PreservationTechnologi
A WORLD LEADER IN PAPER PRESERVATI
111 Thomson Park Drive
Cranberry Township, PA 16066
(724) 779-2111

DOBBS BROS.
LIBRARY BINDING
DEC 78
ST. AUGUSTINE
FLA.
32084

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 007 629 313 2